The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXLI NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 3, 1935 No. 3652

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THE NATION. Published weekly at 20 Vesey St., New York. Entered as second-class matter December 13, 1897, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., and under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1935, by The Nation, Inc.
Muriel C. Gray, Advertising Manager. Walter F. Grueninger, Circulating Manager. Cable Address: Nation, New York.

EWING Y. MITCHELL frittered out as an effective muckraker of the Department of Commerce, and the Senate Commerce Committee which heard his charges appeared to gloat over his ineptness in scoring points. Chairman Copeland and Secretary Roper in particular behaved as though their demonstration of Mr. Mitchell's ineptness was identical with proving the complete innocence of everyone in the department. They made a great deal of the fact that little in Mr. Mitchell's attack on the shipping ring which has plundered the Treasury for years is not already part of the official record. This is lamentably true. Senator Black has filled pages of thick reports exposing the subsidy scandals. Postmaster General Farley's report on the mail contracts is one of the best pieces of work to have come from a New Deal department. The facts are there, crying for notice, and when Mr. Mitchell recounted them, the only counter-attack was to remark that he was saying nothing new. Mr. Roper was able to score a tactical victory without having to explain how he came to sponsor the brazen Bland-Copeland subsidy bill, which defeats the subsidy policy of the President. But the public, we feel, was impressed by Mr. Mitchell's opinions of his former colleagues even if he could not substantiate charges of a criminal nature. Many a special interest is served in Washington without the coarse violation of the law. Congress, too, is more suspicious, and the passage of the Bland-Copeland bill without far-reaching amendments is less likely than it would have been without Mr. Mitchell's service. Our first interest is obtaining subsidy legislation which will protect the public. But we are anxious to see a house-cleaning in the bureaus which Mr. Mitchell condemned. If they are only as "innocent" as Secretary Roper and the shipping ring, a good shake-up is called for.

THE FRANTIC PROPAGANDA against the holding-company bill has been more effective in the House than it was in the Senate. Friends of the bill so predicted, knowing how heavy the barrage from organized home investors has been. Servants of special interests stand out more clearly in the comparative isolation of the Senate. The House committee in charge of the bill has deleted the death sentence on all holding companies which are unable to meet a standard of genuine usefulness, and it is said that a poll of the House shows a comfortable majority to sustain this deletion. As a fight nears, the White House itself shows signs of weakening. The President told a press conference that the North American was the type of company which should be spared ultimate extinction. This company, to be sure, stands head and shoulders above most of its contemporaries, but it does not meet the clear requirement of linking together a homogeneous service which would be weakened by its disappearance; nor is it a mere investment trust. It is discouraging to note the will to compromise which the President reveals when faced with stubborn opposition. This issue of the holding companies, we had been told, was the one on which he was determined to fight to the last ditch. Members of the House may feel that their home folks do not want to see the owners of holding-company shares lose any of those shares' fictitious value, but we are certain that if the President held them in Washington through a couple of torrid weeks, and explained the issue once more to the country, the investors' lobby would be routed.

A DISPATCH from Oslo, Norway, predicts that the Nobel Peace Prize for 1935 is to be divided between Masaryk, the eighty-five-year-old President of Czecho-Slovakia, and Carl von Ossietzky, former editor of the radical *Weltbühne*, who has been held in a German concentration camp under indescribable conditions since February, 1933. For the past year intellectuals in both Europe and America have carried on an active campaign for recognition of the German editor's militant fight against war and war preparedness. Ossietzky first entered public life after the World War as an avowed pacifist. As editor of the *Weltbühne*, he opened the pages of that weekly to a campaign against the cruelties of the anti-republican Fehme, the forerunner of the National Socialist movement. In 1931 he was arrested by the Brüning government for the alleged betrayal of military secrets in an article on Germany's war preparations, and was sentenced to eighteen months in prison.

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On his release in December, 1932, he turned his attention to the Nazi movement. National Socialist leaders hated this scion of a noble Catholic family for his courageous anti-nationalism, and he was among the first to be arrested on the night of the Reichstag fire. Together with Mühsam, Neubauer, Hiller, Bredel, and other German intellectuals he was taken to the notorious concentration camp of Sonnenburg and from there to the marshes of Palenberg. The Labor Party of Norway is to be congratulated for its courageous defiance of its belligerent Nazi neighbor in singling out two outstanding anti-fascists of Europe for this admirable award.

THE LONG SILENCE regarding the movement of the Chinese Red Army has been broken by the report that the main body under Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung has joined forces with the Szechuan Red Army at Tienchuan, seventy miles southwest of Chengtu. If this report is confirmed, it marks the completion of one of the most dramatic military maneuvers in history. Approximately nine months ago the main body of the Red Army evacuated Kiangsi, where the Communists had been in power for six years, and fought its way 1,000 miles overland—accompanied by a large portion of the civil population—to the rich western province of Szechuan. Knowing that once the Communists became intrenched in Szechuan it would be virtually impossible to dislodge them, Chiang Kai-shek took personal charge of the campaign to prevent them from reaching their goal. On several occasions it appeared as if he had blocked the way, but by means of a long southern detour through Yunnan the Soviet forces eluded the Nanking troops and arrived at their destination in reasonably good condition. The combined armies, said to be 200,000 strong, are now a far more serious threat to Chiang Kai-shek than they have been in previous years. Doubtless the urgency of the Communist "menace" explains Chiang's sudden capitulation to Japan at a time when the Nanking authorities were disposed to make at least a show of resistance.

BARRING the occurrence of unforeseen difficulties, Soviet Russia is expected to harvest the greatest crop in history this year. The problems of organization and discipline on the collective farms which proved so serious in 1931 and 1932 appear to have been completely solved. Weeks before the beginning of the annual spring sowing campaign the seed had been prepared and cleaned, tractor repairs had been completed, and a fuel supply laid in sufficient for the season's needs. Although cool weather kept the sown area lower than last year's until about May 1, the planting proceeded with such speed in the following days that the annual program was 84 per cent fulfilled by May 10 and surpassed early in June. With the advantage of early germination and aided by plentiful rainfall throughout the spring, there is every indication that the yield per acre will exceed that of the record 1933 harvest. At the basis of the success of the agricultural program lies the phenomenal development of the machine industry. Nearly 100,000 more tractors were available this year than in 1934, and also the acreage per tractor increased approximately 25 per cent. Production of combines in the first four months of 1935 was more than eight times as great as in the same period of the previous year. The steady improvement in agriculture and industry which has been especially marked in the past two years is now paralleled for the first time by a similar rise in the output of consumers' goods. Light industry expanded its production by 17 per cent for the first quarter of 1935, and the turnover of the state and cooperative stores rose by one-third. Food prices in the cities are approximately half what they were a year ago, and consumption has increased accordingly. Needless to say, none of these facts have appeared in the Hearst press.

DESPITE MAYOR LAGUARDIA'S order of some months ago recognizing the legality of mass picketing, the New York police force continues arbitrarily to break up such picketing whenever it occurs. On one day recently three groups of pickets were arrested in the mid-town area alone within a period of three hours. The police first descended upon four members of the Office Workers' Union who were picketing the *American Mercury*, arrested them, and were hustling them to jail when four other pickets appeared, joined later by a still larger group; in the end seventeen had been taken into custody—including at least one bystander. Others were arrested for picketing Bickford's restaurant and certain motion-picture theaters on Times Square, though in each case the number of pickets did not exceed four. In no instance were the pickets convicted on the spurious charges brought against them, but they were detained in jail from six to nine hours before they could even obtain release on bail. The moral is an obvious one. Labor has a constitutional right to picket, but if the practice becomes embarrassing to the employer the police will oblige by locking the pickets up until the slow wheels of justice can be brought into action to obtain their release. Thereupon picketing is resumed, the police again assert their supremacy over the courts by arresting the pickets for "disorderly conduct," until "justice" once more sets them free. This is the technique of American liberty.

ONE WAY OF USING the increasing empty tonnage of transatlantic liners would be to pass the bill introduced by Representative Dies, which would bring about the deportation of 6,000,000 aliens. In Washington last week, according to the press, pressure in support of the bill, which is put forward as a means of wiping out unemployment, was exerted by 155 organizations representing 5,000,000 people; Representative Dies has received 50,000 letters, and he says plans are afoot to gather 10,000,000 native-born and naturalized citizens into an organization, to be called "The Americans," which will be formed in each state on a non-sectarian, non-partisan basis to pass the bill. The bill would bar all pioneer immigrants who do not have relatives in this country, make mandatory the deportation of 3,500,000 aliens illegally in this country, and give to the 4,000,000 aliens legally here twelve months in which to become citizens. Finally all aliens would be required to obtain Labor Department permits to work, which would be issued only when employers showed that they could not find American citizens to do the job. The figures are impressive; the formula sounds neat. "If there were no aliens in this country," says Representative Dies with demagogic boldness, "we would not have an unemployment problem." The deportation spree would be wonderfully productive of the worst type of nationalism, race prejudice, and international ill-will,

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but the unemployment problem would still remain unsolved, a large number of consumers having vanished. Perhaps "The Americans" could then be used to track down some other unlucky minority in a new hysterical head-hunting expedition. We should like to know more about that mushroom growth of 155 organizations which popped up so suddenly to advocate this bill, and in whose cellar they grew.

IN DECLARING that affiliated local unions which admit Communists would not be recognized by the American Federation of Labor, William Green did not mean exactly what he said. There are few if any A. F. of L. unions without at least a few Communist members, and any effort to drive them out wholesale would split the federation wide open and presage its end as an important factor in American life. Whatever errors the Communists have made in tactics, it cannot be denied that they furnish a much-needed vigor in trade-union activities. Where they have been driven out, as in the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, they have taken the most active and courageous portion of the membership with them, leaving a vestigial union of no particular consequence. Mr. Green knows all this, and his statement was merely an attempt to prevent an amalgamation of the powerful Communist-controlled Fur Workers' Industrial Union with the International Fur Workers' Union, a relatively weak A. F. of L. unit. In supporting him, Matthew Woll, speaking for the federation, complained that the Communists "had returned to the old policy of boring from within" and declared that the A. F. of L. was determined to prevent the "united front." This is merely another way of saying he is afraid the Communists will instil sufficient militancy into the A. F. of L. to overthrow its present do-nothing leadership. Surely active cooperation among all factions of labor was never more essential than now, and any move to prevent unity must be set down as an aid to those employers who are fighting the establishment of a real labor movement.

SLIGHTLY MORE THAN A YEAR after President Roosevelt's notable speech on social security, the Senate passed the Wagner-Lewis bill, which purports to carry out his promises. The discrepancy between the two is painfully evident. The bill makes no provision for the millions now unemployed, and there is no guaranty that the state unemployment-insurance laws, when passed, will provide even a subsistence income for the jobless of the future. Agricultural laborers, employees of small business establishments, professional and white-collar workers, and domestic servants will have no protection whatsoever. Provision for the aged is also unsatisfactory. Aid is to be given at present only in those states which have pension laws, and in an amount not exceeding $30 per month for those over sixty-five years of age. Permanent insurance for the aged is to be financed by a levy on both employers and employees which rises to 6 per cent of the payroll by 1949. Since the tax for both unemployment and old-age protection is placed directly on business and the workers, it may be assumed that it will lead to decreased consumption and reduced standards of living, while an uneconomic and unnecessary surplus is being accumulated to meet future contingencies. The last-minute amendment by Senator Clark exempting establishments with private pension plans from the old-age insurance levies would, if upheld in conference, encourage employers to discharge their older employees before they reached a pensionable age. Many liberals, we know, welcome this measure merely because they consider it a step in the right direction. But in our opinion Congress has saddled the country with a cumbersome, ill-conceived program which, because it depends on forty-eight state legislatures, can be revised only with the greatest difficulty. Real security for the masses would be better served if this bill were vetoed to prepare the way for adequate legislation at the next session of Congress.

DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER has just made another speech before the American Club of Paris. Fresh from the commencement exercises at Columbia University, where he countenanced the fascist Casa Italiana and had nothing whatever to say about the high-handed expulsion of a group of medical students and technicians for pacifist activities, he had the impudence to preach liberalism to his audience. He said, "All we need is to be liberal, open-minded, fair, sympathetic, and anxious to do harm to no man, good to all, to see to it that the child labor which we have abolished remains abolished." This is the same Dr. Butler speaking who has been a persistent opponent of the proposed child-labor amendment to the federal constitution. But such contradictions are not new in Dr. Butler's career. A reactionary in his own country and on his own campus, he champions liberalism the more strongly the farther removed he is from the United States.

WE RECORD with pleasure the decision of High Commissioner Kenesaw M. Landis that Edwin C. (Alabama) Pitts, former all-round athletic star of Sing Sing, may play professional baseball. It was an unprecedented decision, overruling the previous decision of W. G. Bramham, president of the National Association of Minor League Baseball Clubs. Pitts's victory will gladden the hearts of all intelligent penologists and bring hope to men still in prison. Our only wish is that Pitts will soon prove himself a star player, and that before long he will be in the big leagues.

MAYOR LAGUARDIA'S plan to request a $45,000,000 loan from the federal government for a municipal electric "yardstick" plant has lately been the occasion for heated argument at a public hearing, and he has promised to bring it once more before the Board of Estimate for a vote. The prospects for success look much better now than they did some weeks ago, thanks chiefly to the able pleas made by the Mayor himself and by Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the New York Power Authority. Former Supreme Court Justice Joseph M. Proskauer, counsel for the Consolidated system, presented the familiar arguments against the "yardstick" scheme—that public ownership has generally been a failure, that it would inject politics into the public-utility service, and so on. Mayor LaGuardia has ably disposed of these arguments in a pamphlet entitled "What My Power Plan Would Mean to New York Consumers," which may be obtained by applying to the Business Men's Committee at 580 Fifth Avenue. The Mayor shows, by citing comparative figures from public and private plants in Cleveland, Columbus, Los Angeles, and Seattle, that "the one effective way to force down the high rates of private electric companies is to build a yardstick in competition with the private plants."

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Wanted: A Philosophy of Taxation

THE President's special message on tax reform does not presage the creation of the social state through taxation, as *The Nation* has urged. It is not a specific program, and its chief merit is that it opens the most vital discussion the country can engage in. For that reason we welcome it. Now it lies with the progressives to widen and deepen the conception of taxation in Congress and the country, and to press for early action. The President lays down two principles—that the perpetuation of large incomes is not socially desirable, and that large corporations should be penalized by taxation because of their size. The first of these is incontestable. The second leads straight to one of the most profound philosophical debates in American life. Mr. Justice Brandeis is the chief antagonist of bigness and the source of the doctrine that decentralization is the only hope of building a good American civilization. His greatest moment, we imagine, must have come in the unanimity of the Schechter decision, which struck at the heart of the case for centralization. On the other side is the belief that centralization is inevitable and that the duty of the state is to guide and control the evolution to bigness for the public good. In this debate the President, it seems, has stood squarely on both sides. The Tennessee Valley project is a striking attempt to decentralize, and subsistence homesteads are in line with it. Yet he threw his weight behind the centralizing NRA without showing the slightest appreciation of how perilous it would become unless administered with great courage for the public welfare. Now that the NRA has been thrown out of court he yields to the Brandeis doctrine again in his attack on big corporations through special taxation.

The menace of bigness in finance and industry is the political and economic power that goes with it. But with the danger come indubitable benefits. Certainly some large corporations perform a genuine and valuable economic service which could not be performed by small companies. The modern automobile is only one instance. The consumer today gets for $500 a car which would have cost him $1,000 a few years ago. This is a benefit which ought to be preserved. The trouble with the automobile companies is not that they are big but that they are incredibly inhumane. They could make cheaper and better cars even if they met decent human standards in their factories. Social control of industry seems to us preferable to breaking up bigness into littleness. The latter may be the easier political solution, but it destroys certain values. The values can be preserved without political risks once we have a social state.

The President also proposes to tax inheritances and gifts, the revenue to apply to the retirement of the national debt. This will quiet the conservatives who clamor against the profligate spending of the New Deal. To their question who is going to pay, the President now replies, the multimillionaires. Heretofore the usual frightened answer has been that inflation is unescapable. But we are not satisfied with a tax system which goes no farther than earmarking the inheritance taxes in this way. In a sense it is a redistribution of wealth, since much of the debt to be retired has been incurred in paying relief. A generation or two of dying multimillionaires will have supplied the Hopkins doles and work-doles. But this is only a single operation of redistribution. In the truly social state wealth is continuously redistributed, since its accumulation is an uninterrupted social function which another uninterrupted social function must disburse for the general good. The President does show glimmerings of understanding the possibilities in taxation; he wants to use it to break up bigness, and he will make the rich pay for the relief of the poor during one depression. But he does not take hold of taxation as the best tool with which to rebuild society. He borrows a little from the wisdom of modern economics, and adds this little to the conglomeration of doctrines he already has acted upon. It now is for others to expand and expound the truth. Senator La Follette rose to the occasion with his proposal to increase the income-tax rate, reduce exemptions, and bring into the Treasury new revenue of a billion a year. This proposal, of course, should have been part of the security program which has just passed Congress. The social services are the proper medium for the distribution of wealth. Moreover, social taxation coupled with an adequate security program can alone assure the stability of consumer purchasing power necessary for the fullest use of our resources. The first aim of taxation is not to pay off debt but to make for a good life in the community. We see the English derivation of the President's proposal, for the English boast that their death duties are applied to extinguish the national debt. But they have comprehensive social taxation on a scale that this country has not dreamed of, and the retirement of debt through death duties is a small part of it.

Concurrently with the President's tax proposals comes the certainty that the work-relief program is to be turned into a hasty, superficial substitute for straight relief. Instead of the billions being used solely to finance long-term public works and rebuild the slums, they are to be handed out as quickly as possible on small schemes which use them chiefly for labor and very little for material—that is, on relief schemes which are disguised as work. The vast possibilities of spending the money wisely for the permanent enrichment of the country are on the whole being missed. This is probably the worst defeat of the New Deal, and its greatest discredit. It would have been far better to spend the money more slowly on great objects, paying cash relief in the meantime. But it is plain that the Administration is tired of planning and is gambling with the nation's money on recovery. If it can get the money out and maintain the present level of consumption, it counts on the force of credit inflation to do the rest. That is the measure of the opportunism at the White House. The new tax program fits in with it. It is issued at a time to produce a maximum of political advantage, is made to sound more radical than it is, and will reduce still farther the chance of a strong third party entering the next campaign. But intrinsically it is only a new philosophic color in Joseph's already much-patched coat.

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England Drops Europe

NO event since the announcement of Germany's rearmament program is more ominous in its implications for European security than the new Anglo-German naval accord. Although it might seem at first sight that any arms-limitation agreement should be welcomed by a war-threatened continent, the pact is bound to have political repercussions which are far more significant than the question of mere naval restrictions. To begin with, it carries with it tacit sanction, as far as Britain is concerned, of the Reich's unilateral abrogation of the Treaty of Versailles. This may be defended as a realistic acceptance of a *fait accompli,* but in acting independently and against the will of other signatories of the Versailles treaty England has embarrassed its former allies. These powers have ample justification for feeling that the new German navy is being built against them rather than against Britain. As long as the Reich lives up to its promise to restrict its fleet to 35 per cent of the strength of the British navy, it cannot hope to challenge either England or the United States, but with a large proportion of modern ships it may well have greater strength than either France or Italy despite their slightly larger tonnage. The Soviet Union and the Baltic states, with little or no naval equipment, are perhaps even more seriously menaced by Germany's program.

A more disturbing feature of the Anglo-German agreement is the possibility that Britain has decided to play an independent role in Europe rather than join in a united front against the threat of Nazi aggression. In adopting this policy the new British Cabinet seems to have capitulated completely to Hitler. For six months Nazi policy has concentrated chiefly on the effort to split England away from the common front of the former Allied powers. The arrangements for Simon's visit to Berlin and Hitler's recent speech were primarily directed to that end. When first faced with the reality of German rearmament the British government appeared uncertain whether to join the other powers in an open alignment against Germany or to seek through mediation to bring Germany back into the collective system. Early efforts at conciliation having failed, the British representatives at Stresa joined with France and Italy in formulating measures to prevent unilateral treaty repudiation and to punish such action if it occurred. While still advocating the strengthening of the collective system, Britain appeared to recognize that extraordinary measures would have to be taken to hold Germany in check. Although it was not prepared to join in an Eastern Locarno or to adhere to the Franco-Soviet pact, it gave tacit support to these steps. For the past month, however, British policy has been swinging once more toward conciliation.

The naval agreement not only marks a repudiation of Allied solidarity against the Third Reich, but implies an abandonment of the principles of collective security in favor of the "splendid isolation" of Lord Beaverbrook. Having reached the conclusion that multilateral disarmament pacts are impossible under existing conditions, the new British government apparently feels that bilateral agreements offer the only means of avoiding a catastrophic armament race. It hopes that the German pact may be followed by similar agreements with France, Italy, and Soviet Russia, and that the same technique may possibly be adopted in subsequent negotiations with the United States and Japan. One wonders, however, whether the Baldwin government has thought through the implications of this revolutionary change in policy. The limitations of bilateral as contrasted with multilateral action are much the same in the naval field as in tariff negotiations. The issues discussed do not relate to two nations alone, but, as in the case of the new naval agreement, are frequently of greater concern to others. In bilateral negotiations a balance of power may be struck between two countries which is completely out of line with the best interests of the world as a whole. Bilateral pacts are in direct conflict with the centripetal forces which have been pulling nations toward some form of collective organization. They tend to place an exaggerated emphasis on a "strong" national policy, and thus exacerbate jingoistic passions. If pursued to their logical conclusion they would spell the end of all forms of cooperative international organization, such as the League of Nations. But of course it would be presumptuous to assume that the conclusion of one bilateral agreement implies a complete change in British foreign policy. The announcement that qualitative limitations "are dependent on the attitude adopted by other naval powers" indicates that doubt regarding the practicability of the new method already exists. These doubts should be greatly increased by Herr von Ribbentrop's most undiplomatic statement, in which he gloats over the fact that Germany has "broken the ice of the rigid political situation in Europe," and declares that "in the endeavor to preserve the culture of our Old World, Britain, France, Germany, and other European countries must stand together." To him, at least, there seems no doubt that the agreement marks the end of the united front and is a step toward a new union of European powers against Soviet Russia.

A High Price for Labor Standards

THE Guffey coal-control bill is an attempt to repeat in one industry what the old NRA tried to do for all: safeguard labor standards and collective bargaining at the cost of encouraging monopoly and of giving producers the power to fix prices. Coal being a "sick" industry, there is some justification for trying to heal it by extraordinary means, but this legislation is disquieting. It is a step not toward nationalization but away from it. It is the forced cartelization of a major industry, and it vests a great trade union with a semi-public status. This is "self-government" in industry with a minimum of public control, and it is neither justifiable as an emergency nor as a permanent pattern. In the end "self-government" by industry is economic fascism, and it can be saved from becoming so only if public control is both genuine and lively.

The intent of the bill is to "stabilize" the bituminous coal industry for a period of four years by means of price-fixing superimposed upon collective labor agreements (Title 1). Concurrently, the Secretary of the Interior will undertake to buy up $300,000,000 of coal-mining properties, to

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constitute a National Bituminous Coal Reserve permanently withdrawn from production (Title 2). With the withdrawal of these properties, it is supposed, supply will balance demand, the dead weight of excess producing capacity will be lifted, and the bituminous coal-mining industry will be free to enjoy prosperity. The heart of the bill is to be found in the marketing provisions which empower the twenty-two district boards of coal producers to fix minimum prices. These prices would be subject, it is true, to the approval of the National Bituminous Coal Commission, a governmental tribunal in the Department of the Interior, composed of five representatives of the public, two of the producers, and two of the trade unions. But the commission's power to review minimum prices is limited, in effect, to requiring that the district boards carry out their computations according to prescribed formulas. On paper, the commission is authorized to fix maximum prices to protect coal consumers. But this power is emasculated by a joker which declares that "no maximum price shall be established *for any mine* which shall not return cost plus a reasonable profit."

In addition to price-fixing, the bill articulates collective bargaining into the scheme of industrial self-government. Here lies the interest of the United Mine Workers, chief spokesman for the measure, who believe that the maintenance of union wage scales depends on the cartelization of employers. Should producers of more than two-thirds of the national tonnage in any year negotiate a collective agreement with a labor organization representing more than half of the employees, the wages and hours agreed upon become binding on all members of the code throughout the country. District agreements are negotiated on a similar basis. The section on district agreements seems to be aimed against the Progressive Miners of America and other "dual union" factions opposing the Lewis regime, for it specifies "representatives of the majority of the mine workers therein belonging to a *recognized national association* of mine workers."

The bituminous coal industry, here as in Great Britain, is suffering from a plethora of productive capacity. This is not to say, however, that it can regain its health by exempting members from the anti-trust laws (the bill does this specifically). It is not improbable that bituminous coal mining would languish still more grievously; for the boost in prices would increase the very forces—the shift to oil, natural gas, water power, and improved technology of fuel consumption—which constitute the industry's marketing problems. Further, the provision for establishing the National Bituminous Coal Reserve will throw out of work many thousands of soft-coal miners, who would have to be resettled and rehabilitated en masse. Perhaps the job can and should be done. But this should be foreseen and planned as an organic part of the legislation.

After the Schechter decision it is difficult to believe the bill is constitutional. The Supreme Court has already intimated that for the purpose of wage and hour standards it will not regard coal mining as "interstate commerce." Equally vulnerable is the bill's use of the taxation power, together with the power of granting drawbacks, to force employers into codes which pretend to be voluntary. We cannot believe it will weather the Supreme Court. But even if it should, we consider it dangerous without provisions for genuine public control, to which we regret to say both the President and Congress appear indifferent.

Coals to Newcastle

MANY of our readers must have seen in their daily paper a maddeningly brief dispatch about an American savant who has been traveling around the country teaching Indians to make arrows. For many days after reading the item we devoted our spare time to wondering just how the savant happened to know and just why the Indians did not, but we are glad to report our discovery that the questions are satisfactorily answered in a recent book by Charles D. Stewart.*

It seems that the Indians were a practical race and that they recognized the utility of iron from the moment that they received their first fragment of it from an early voyager. Bits of the precious metal found their way across the continent before the white men who had introduced it, and the use spread so rapidly that the invaders found it already familiar by the time they reached the remoter regions. Very quickly it supplanted the native stone weapons, and all knowledge of how they were made had disappeared before anyone thought to inquire into the subject. Today most Indians do not even know that stone arrows were ever used, and though they recognize one as a "thunder stone" they know it only as a symbol and not at all as a utility. Tardily, a Wisconsin naturalist-archaeologist named H. L. Skavlem took up the subject and solved the mystery.

It seems that you do it with a piece of bone—if you know how. Mr. Skavlem finds a toothbrush handle ideal, and with the aid of that implement he has made hundreds of flint arrow-heads in all styles by pressing the bone firmly against the flint until a little curved chip flies out just in the place where he wants it to. We confess that it doesn't sound easy. In fact, the explanation is almost as unsatisfactory as that said to have been given by the miraculous Australian sheep estimator who declared that there was nothing mysterious about the method by which he was able to tell the size of a herd at a glance. "You just count the legs and then divide by four." But in any event Mr. Skavlem has aroused the wonder of the Indians and says that he has only one difficulty. When complete realism is required in his imitations he has to be careful not to make the work too perfect.

Incidentally, those who find such subjects as this interesting will find a good deal more to interest them in Mr. Stewart's volume of essays. He began his career by exhibiting his ability to talk backwards in the dime museums of the eighteen-nineties. Now he devotes his time to investigating such curious questions as "How does a snake walk?" and to writing up the results for the *Atlantic Monthly*. He has, for example, a very fine essay on Chicago spiders in spite of the fact that, as he says, "I should confess that I do not know spiders anatomically or microscopically, but only personally." Then there is another about one Lorenzo Langstroth, who was born in Philadelphia in 1810 and who about 1850 made some discoveries concerning the psychology of the bee so important that they completely revolutionized the practice of bee-keeping, which had been shockingly inefficient since the time of Vergil. And yet there is no biographical sketch of Langstroth in any encyclopedia.

* "Fellow Creatures." By Charles D. Stewart. Little, Brown and Company. $2.75.

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Issues and Men

A Great Humanitarian Experiment

"A COLONIZATION project as magnificent in scope as any which harnessed water power or reclaimed land, the narcotic farm is designed to house only addicts, cure them of their illness, and restore their confidence and self-sufficiency"—this is the description given of the first United States Narcotic Farm, which was opened recently at Lexington, Kentucky, by Surgeon General Hugh S. Cumming of the Federal Public Health Service, and is of a size to house no less than 1,400 drug victims. This is an enlightened undertaking indeed, and, like the new federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, is proof that slowly but surely the federal government, at least, is making progress in the handling of criminals. When one looks at the several states and notably the county jails one all but loses hope. In New York, for example, governor after governor goes to Albany and whether his name be Franklin Roosevelt or Herbert Lehman leaves the state prison system about as it was. We have not been able to induce the legislature to make of Sing Sing merely a receiving laboratory for the study and segregation of criminals until experts decide to what institution each shall be sent. There are still horrible conditions in many of our prisons caused by antiquated buildings, overcrowding, lack of adequate sanitation and recreation grounds. In Massachusetts they are still using the state prison which was erected in 1812! And then when the criminals are graduated from these institutions as professional crooks, even the first offenders, we go after them with increasing ruthlessness and declare that for a third or fourth offense they shall go to prison for life.

At Lexington the government took three years to build its new experiment at a cost of $4,000,000. The institution itself covers eleven acres of a 1,100-acre farm, and will employ 350 persons and cost about $750,000 a year; it is good news that a similar institution is also under way at Fort Worth, Texas. The patients to be sent there will comprise violators of federal law, offenders on probation, convicts who have finished their prison terms and are still addicts, and voluntary patients—the latter may be asked to pay for the cost of their subsistence and care. It is gratifying to read that "their names are to be kept confidential, their rights as citizens of the United States are in no way to be abridged, and their stay at the farm is never to be held against them as a charge in any court proceeding." The patients are to be taught trades and those who work in the plants and shops are to receive regular wages; it is hoped to make the farm an independent industrial center. Naturally it is thought that if economic security, at least to the extent of knowledge of a trade, can be given to the patients, that will be one of the best ways of aiding in the cure of the drug habit, which is coming more and more to be recognized as a purely medical matter. Everyone knows that the smuggling of drugs into the prisons of the country goes on continuously, with rare exceptions; many guards consider that the supplying of drugs is a legitimate source of revenue for them, and the devices resorted to by the smugglers seem to defy detection or control. If the drug addicts are wholly separated from other prisoners, it is obvious that they will be better taken care of and that they will not corrupt the many who are free from the habit on entering prison but who yield easily to the temptation to spend a good part of their incarceration under the influence of a narcotic.

Since the splendid project at Lexington was begun only three years ago, it may perhaps be charged to the credit side of the depression. Certainly public works of this kind are infinitely more worth while than the building of more cement roads, or post offices, or even grade crossings. If I were the head of the public-works building program, I should direct it chiefly along three lines: the rebuilding of the entire prison system, state and national, the building of new schools and university buildings, and the development of a huge housing program. Here is Langdon Post, head of the New York Housing Authority, telling Congress that *one-third* of all the people in the United States live in sub-standard houses. New York City, he declared, must take care in new housing of 510,516 families, or considerably over two million people. He is strongly for the Wagner housing bill, in which $800,000,000 is asked for in order that outright grants amounting to 30 per cent of the cost of land and materials may be given to local authorities. The government, he felt, should waive all interest payments "and simply require a payment each year from the Housing Authority to cover amortization over a period from forty to sixty years. This would approximate from 1½ to 1¾ per cent with this type of financing; rentals averaging slightly under six dollars a room would be obtained in the projects contemplated under the authority's program. Otherwise rents would rise." Of course, the government ought to lend its money without interest, for the best experts are confident that the urban problem of slum reconstruction cannot be solved on an adequate basis —that is, reach the very poor—unless the government is willing to put in its money on a non-interest-bearing basis. When one reads that in England the number of new homes built by private capital or by local authorities with Parliamentary aid has now gone up to two and one-half millions since the ending of the World War, it is certainly a disgrace that we have hardly made a start, particularly in view of the general belief that nothing could possibly do more to bring back prosperity than a big housing program.

Therefore it is all the more encouraging to read that at least in the field of penal reform the federal government is making progress, despite the difficult times. Building fine new institutions is, of course, only half the battle. The men at the head of those institutions must be wise, capable, humane, and imbued with a modern outlook upon crime and crime prevention.

Oswald Garrison Villard

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The Corrupt Press in China

By AGNES SMEDLEY

WHEN referring to the capitalist press Lenin used to speak of the "reptile press." I have often resented this and have been tempted to write an article in defense of reptiles. At last, instead of doing this, I have decided to put down a few facts about the foreign and the Chinese press in China and leave it to others to decide if any reptile of any species deserves Lenin's comparison.

There is in China a most servile and corrupt press and a most servile and corrupt group of newspapermen; they can be bought by any secret service, government, business firm, or gang leader desirous of having something suppressed or something published. But there are, too, newspapers and newspapermen who have put up a courageous struggle for the right to publish facts. Very few of these are foreign; many more are Chinese. The truth of this statement is attested to by the frequent reports of the arrest, imprisonment, or death of Chinese newspapermen, and of the temporary or permanent suppression of Chinese newspapers which have tried to inform the Chinese people about internal or foreign affairs. During the one year of 1934 more than 110 publications in the Peiping-Tientsin area were either temporarily or permanently shut down. In that same year at least three newspapermen were murdered by the Blue Shirts in Tientsin.

To show the conditions under which newspapers and newspapermen work in China today, I offer the following two typical cases. In January, 1933, a Chinese newspaperman named Liu Yu-seng, editor of a supplement to the *Shen Jih Pao* of Chingkiang, a city six hours by rail from Shanghai, was secretly shot and killed in prison. The order for the execution was given by General Ku Chu-tung, governor of the province, who is one of the closest henchmen of General Chiang Kai-shek, dictator of the Nanking government. Chinese newspapermen investigated and learned that Liu Yu-seng had been killed because he had published a complete report about the opium traffic in Chingkiang, in which General Ku had a big and profitable share. When the press protested against the killing, General Ku said that Liu had been executed because he was a Communist. As proof, he said that Liu had been in prison for political activities in 1927, and that he had once tried to organize ricksha coolies into a union. This proved that he was a Communist deserving death! Yang Chien, general secretary of the China League for Civil Rights, conducted an investigation of this case through a certain official in Nanking with whom he was on friendly terms. This Kuomintang official wrote Yang that when Liu's body was exhumed and examined by his family in the presence of officials, it was found that one of his legs had been crushed by torture. Yang refused to give this letter to the press on the ground that if he did so he and its author would share the same fate as Liu. Six months later Yang was murdered by Blue Shirts in Shanghai.

Here is the second case. On November 13, 1934, Sze Liang-zai, millionaire owner and editor of the *Shun Pao*, a Shanghai daily, was murdered outside the city. I am informed that the foreign police of Shanghai knew that the murder was contemplated and warned the Blue Shirts that if they killed Sze in foreign-controlled territory, the police would expose the facts about Yang Chien's murder. So Sze was killed outside the foreign-controlled territory. Immediately after the murder Chinese officials began spreading rumors to cover the tracks of the murderers. For instance, Tang Leang-li, propagandist for Wang Ching-wei, high official of the Nanking government, told American newspapermen that Sze had been murdered by personal enemies. Others said he was killed in a quarrel over a concubine, and still others said he was murdered by business competitors. But every Chinese newspaperman, banker, and industrialist knew that he had been murdered by a band of Blue Shirts who had traveled in a high-powered automobile bearing a Nanking license plate.

For two years before this murder the Blue Shirts had tried to gain control of the *Shun Pao*, the largest and oldest Chinese daily. Following the Japanese invasion of Shanghai in 1932, Chiang Kai-shek had personally forced Sze Liang-zai to discharge his chief editorial writer, who was anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang. In January, 1934, the *Shun Pao* correspondent in Tientsin was murdered for reporting facts about the secret dealings between Nanking officials and the Japanese in the north. In 1934 the Central Kuomintang instructed General Wu Teh-chen, mayor of Shanghai and henchman of Chiang Kai-shek, to order the *Shun Pao* to publish no more articles by the famous left writer, Lo Hsün. The Blue Shirts asked Sze Liang-zai to allow them to furnish the material for one full page of his paper. When he refused, they offered to buy his paper for one million dollars. He refused this also.

Not one Chinese or foreign newspaper in Shanghai had the courage to publish the truth regarding this case. The Chinese knew the facts to the last detail, and it was not "lack of proof" that prevented the foreign press from publishing them. Had the foreign press desired proof, it could have secured it from the foreign police. Incidentally, lack of proof has never kept the Chinese or foreign press from publishing anything. Quite the contrary. For years the press in China has filled its columns and those of the world's newspapers with manufactured tales about the Chinese peasants and the revolutionary intellectuals. There was and is no proof of who murdered the American missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Stam, last January, but this did not keep the foreign press from carrying on a vicious international campaign against the Red Army of China, and from saying that the Stams were murdered by a red detachment. In China the first reports of the murder of the missionaries showed that they were not killed by the reds. Only later did the British press in Shanghai get the idea of using this case against the Communists and as propaganda for foreign armed intervention.

But the highest point in press corruption ever reached in Shanghai, and the clearest possible exposure of the exact situation existing in the Chinese newspaper world, came on

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April 30 of the present year when T. B. Chang, prominent newspaper owner and editor, was forced by the Nanking government to resign his position as managing editor of his three large Shanghai dailies and his news agency. Mr. Chang was owner and managing editor of the English-language daily the *China Press,* and the two Chinese dailies the *China Times* and the *China Evening News*, as well as of the Shun Shih Agency. The Nanking government placed this extensive property under the managing editorship of none other than Tu Yueh-san. It sounds unbelievable, but it is true. On the same day the Nanking government decorated this gang leader, conferring upon him the highest degree of the Order of the Brilliant Jade—the second decoration he has received this year. At the same time the two subordinate gang leaders, Wong Ching-yung and Chang Shao-lin, were also awarded this order.

If one wishes to know why things are or are not published in China, one must look deeper than the surface of things. In the middle of 1932, for instance, a number of official documents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Nanking government fell into the hands of a Chinese acquaintance of mine. They explain much. All of them have to do with the foreign and Chinese press, news agencies, and newspapermen in China, and many are signed by the chief of the Bureau of Intelligence and Publicity of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Nanking government. All are marked "Private and Confidential." One of them, dated May 23, 1932, begins:

> Incompetence, mismanagement, and dishonest manipulation of funds placed monthly at the disposal of the Director of the Intelligence and Publicity Department of the Foreign Ministry for publicity purposes have reduced the functions of the department to doling out various sums of "subsidies" to newspaper reporters, news agencies, both foreign and Chinese, newspaper and magazine proprietors, managers, or editors. . . . The only method of publicity was that of subsidizing—bribing [sic]—news agencies and newspapers so that no news which might be considered unfavorable to the authorities would appear in print. To insure that no such information would leak out to the reading public, individual reporters were also given monthly "subsidies" . . . the demands of the newspapers and reporters are insatiable. There always exists the desire to be given larger sums. . . . The number of reporters and newspapers is constantly on the increase, so that there is no end to the demands.

One paragraph in this confidential report refers to the official British news agency, Reuters, and reads as follows:

> This written understanding with Reuters, which was signed on July 1, 1929, by the then assistant director of the department, provides for the payment of the monthly sum of $3,000. . . . The most objectionable feature—and the one which reveals the true purpose of the contract—is the provision to "treat all outgoing news dispatches fairly and justly and not omit to give the Chinese side of the case in any issue." If Reuters operates in China as an independent foreign commercial news agency, as it claims to be, and if Reuters is faithful to the profession of news gathering and news reporting, Reuters should not accept any cash payment from the Chinese government in consideration of a "fair" treatment of news going out from the country.

There is another contract between Reuters and the Central Publicity Department of the Central Kuomintang in Nanking by which Reuters receives $10,000 from that department. This contract is known to practically every foreign newspaperman in Shanghai. When it became known that these contracts had fallen into the hands of a new director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Publicity in Nanking early in 1932, quite a storm was raised around the Reuters office in Shanghai. So hot did things become for a time that T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance in the Nanking government, demanded that the director of the bureau surrender the contract to him and that under no conditions should it be published.

Why these contracts should have been kept secret from 1929, when they were made, down to 1932 is a question that others may answer. Certainly the United Press did not keep a business arrangement secret which it made with the bureau, according to which the official Nanking Kuo Min News Agency supplied news to the United Press and received the United Press service in return. The confidential reports state that this arrangement is "very advantageous for Nanking" because the United Press "cables abroad news given it by Kuo Min at United Press expense." In the light of these documents, one can more readily understand why, on New Year's Day, 1935, Chiang Kai-shek conferred the Order of the Brilliant Jade on Sir Frederick Jones, chairman of Reuters in London.

The Japanese are by no means niggardly in dealing with the press in China. An outstanding example of their methods is the *Far Eastern Review,* an American-owned and registered engineering monthly which is openly financed by the Japanese. The owner and editor is George Bronson Rea, who perambulates around Washington as "adviser" to the Japanese puppet state of Manchoukuo—at a fat salary. When Mr. Rea was away from China on his sacred mission of aiding Japanese imperialism, his position on the *Review* was taken for a time by another American, George Sokolsky. Mr. Sokolsky, however, seemed a bit more broad-minded than Mr. Rea, for he traveled back and forth between the *Review* office and the office of the Ministry of Finance of the Nanking government, with occasional side trips to the British consulate. The present editor of this Japanese propaganda magazine is also an American; when asked why he did dirty work for the Japanese, he replied: "I'm getting old. Old men can't be choosers." The *Far Eastern Review*, which defends the Japanese conquest of China, and whose editors have worked to this end, has operated for years without any kind of protest from American officials. But every American in China who attempts to publish news exposing the Japanese and the Kuomintang subjectors of the Chinese people is hounded by the local police.

Newspapermen of many nationalities are engaged in scraping in the shekels in the Far East. Until recently the editor of a Japanese imperialist daily in Dairen was an Irishman. During the Japanese invasion a correspondent for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* arrived in Shanghai to take my place, after the Nanking government, working through the German Foreign Office, had demanded my dismissal from that newspaper. I had refused to become an "adviser" to a department in Nanking—which meant keeping my mouth shut—and of course this proved definitely that I was a Communist. My successor, however, was not a Communist; so immediately upon arrival he dashed off to the Chinese mayor of

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greater Shanghai and asked for money to carry on in style. Someone blabbed, the news was cabled to Europe, and the impatient gentleman was recalled. Had he waited a week, the Chinese would perhaps have made him an "adviser" to some department in Nanking or the Japanese would have stalked into his room and plunked down a bag of yen.

The recent "international journalists' party" into the former Soviet regions of Kiangsi that have been overrun by Nanking troops is another case in point. This trip was demanded by the Japanese military headquarters in Shanghai. Of the six Japanese "journalists" on the trip, two were military spies. One foreigner, a Britisher, represented the *North China Daily News*. He was a military man and wrote no articles about his trip—at least he has not so far. The Japanese, ably seconded by Nanking officialdom, refused to allow Soviet Russian correspondents in China to go with the party, but they accepted a White Guard Russian who was not even a journalist. Of course, the German Nazis went, as did a few Americans. In Nanchang, when the local Associated Press correspondent, an American, tried to join the party, the Japanese objected and he was not permitted to go. Needless to say, the journalists came out as "authorities" on Soviet China, and expatiated on the glories of Chiang Kai-shek. They are now propagandists for all the intellectual and economic imbecilities of Chiang Kai-shek's "New Life" movement.

As to the Chinese press, twenty-two official Blue Shirt organs now exist in China, of which eight are in Shanghai. Apart from these organs of Chiang Kai-shek or some one of his henchmen, there are personal propaganda sheets maintained by Wang Ching-wei, who controls one Chinese daily in Shanghai and an English magazine, the *People's Tribune*, which is circulated in England and America. The editor of the *People's Tribune*, a henchman of Wang Ching-wei, draws $10,000 a month from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and $3,000 a month from the Ministry of Finance. He also "takes care of" English-language magazines in Shanghai and articles about China in the American and British press. Typical of the way he is able to force favorable reviews of his own books in China is the following incident:

Last winter the *China Critic*, a Chinese magazine in English that received $2,000 a month from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, broke its traces and reviewed General Yakhontoff's book, "The Chinese Soviets." The editor of the *People's Tribune* dashed to the telephone and called Nanking, whereupon the business manager of the *Critic* was ordered to Nanking. When he left that high fortress of the white terror he had signed an agreement to submit every article thereafter for censorship—which meant to the editor of the *People's Tribune*—and to review *favorably* every publication of that gentleman.

Censorship bureaus were established in all Chinese cities under Nanking control in July, 1934. Since then every manuscript and every advertisement must be submitted for censorship, and afterward two copies of each publication must be submitted for check-up. No blank spaces may be left to betray the hoof of the censors. On the censorship boards in all cities are representatives of every local politician and general.

The foreigners all know what is going on between Nanking and Japan, but the Chinese people may not know. Every reference to contemplated treaties or agreements between Chiang Kai-shek and the Japanese is eliminated from the Chinese press, and allowed to appear only after the agreements or treaties are in effect. This was true of the Tangku-truce agreement, and of the establishment of railway, telephone, mail, telegraph, and customs connections between China and Japan's puppet state of Manchoukuo. When the Japanese Minister to China and a high military officer conducted secret negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei in Nanking last February, not a word of the negotiations or of the true nature of the agreement was published in the Chinese press. Only after the negotiations were finished was the Chinese press allowed to publish a carefully manufactured statement issued by Chiang Kai-shek. In fact, I learn that but three people in China know what the agreement really was. They are Chiang Kai-shek, his wife, and a Chinese general, perhaps Yang Yung-tai. Yet, as recently revealed, the secret negotiations specifically arranged for Japanese financial and military "assistance" to Nanking in its wars on the Red Army and on communism, Japanese military and other "advisers" to take the place of the present German and other foreign advisers, Japanese investment—which means control—in Chinese industries, and a military alliance for war on the Soviet Union. The agreement really makes Kuomintang China a Japanese colony, with Chiang Kai-shek and his henchmen ruling as Japanese puppets, just as Henry Pu Yi rules in Manchuria.

I will give one personal incident as an example of the truthfulness of the news in the controlled Chinese press today. Three reports about me appeared in the Chinese and Japanese press in the course of last winter. These categorically stated that I had arrived in China, coming up from the Malay States, where I had been a "spy for India," and that I was a "notorious international spy" who did espionage work in London and Paris during the World War. I was said to have three different nationalities—American, German, Russian—and my job in China was said to be that of organizing an anti-imperialist and anti-war congress to wage war on Japan. I was also said to be working with Mrs. Sun Yat-sen, the Chinese Communist Party, and two Russian Bolsheviks from the Third International—whose names were given, though the addresses were unfortunately omitted. We all planned to use the Chinese Red Army and Szechuan Province as "our base of action." I was called very beautiful and intelligent and said to speak ten different languages. I was graduated from the University of Michigan, was born in Ohio, and the police of the "whole world" was watching me!

The only things in the report that were true were my name and the statements that I was in Shanghai and that the police were watching me! Everything else was manufactured in the diseased brains of Japanese and Chinese spies and newspapermen. The British police knew just when I landed in Shanghai from America, for a British detective with the name of F. A. Pitts was put on my trail. That I had never been in London, had never been in the Malay States, and that I was lying sick in a Shanghai hospital for months after my arrival instead of organizing secret congresses—all these facts were well-known to the men who manufactured these reports.

All of the above explains why I have become a defender of reptiles when I hear them compared to the capitalist press in China. It's utterly unfair to the reptiles.

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"Education" as a Racket

By RAYMOND GRAM SWING

Washington, June 24

WHAT is vocational education? And what kind of vocational education deserves federal funds? Under the Smith-Hughes Act, the Office of Education of the Department of the Interior is authorized to make contributions to educational projects of state governments which fit young people for a vocation. The intent of the act is beyond criticism. But in some cases it has been degraded in the South, most of all in Mississippi, into a racket for the benefit of garment and textile manufacturers. Thus, new companies bid for by Mississippi towns were offered first of all free factories, were guaranteed a five-year exemption from state and municipal taxation, and were told their workers would be trained for them at the expense of the state and the federal government. This has enabled a factory to obtain a staff of workers who have been "taught" at no cost to the company for from six to twelve weeks and then to employ them as learners, at the learner's reduced wage scale. And because a worker has learned a single operation at a machine and is qualified for a $9-a-week learner's job, this training is called education, with the suggestion that it meets the approval of the United States government. In none of these Mississippi schools about which I have information has there been any other "education." Strictly speaking there have been no "schools." The training place was the factory, or a building ultimately used as such, and the teachers were foremen or mechanics supplied by the textile companies.

Vocational education, according to a moderate standard, should teach workers to understand the whole process of which their operation is a part, and should supplement this with some education in citizenship. That would give the worker a sense of his own function in industry and in the community. Not so in Mississippi. Vocational "education" means nothing but training girls to perform a single operation at a machine at public expense, and it is offered as one of the inducements to factories to move there from other parts of the country.

So long as the NRA was in force the system was under partial control. A factory at Laurel, Mississippi, which marketed the output of its industrial "scholars"—working without pay—was ordered by the NRA to make a restitution of wages. The crushing blow sent this company into bankruptcy, and Laurel now must fish for a new one to take its place. Other factories were more circumspect. Some of them sold their products abroad, foreign dumping of these school-made products not counting as a violation of the textile code. But that was while the NRA was alive. Today the educational system can work still more usefully for the factories. No one can prevent the sale of production from the schools. Women can be taught by factory foremen—as they would be if there were no "education"—and kept without wages for from six to twelve weeks, and then put on a learner's scale for months.

This presents a frightening picture of man being conquered by the machine, and it is more frightening because the good folk of Mississippi are on the whole happy about it. They look upon industrialization as a boon. A community will buy stock in a textile plant so that it can build a factory; or it will make a bond issue; or it will solicit subscriptions. All the inhabitants, even those on relief, are asked to pledge so much a month toward the fund which will allure the factory to their town. They will do this in a fire of public spirit, on the assumption that it is going to take people off relief, and bring prosperity to the town. There may be a few, here and there, who do not see the justice in contributing to the profit of a rich manufacturing company. But in the main the campaign for factories has been undertaken enthusiastically without questions asked. The educational part of it, which is what primarily concerns the rest of the country, is assumed to be beyond challenge. Anyhow, what is vocational education? Is it more than jamming idle persons into jobs? If the companies use it for chiseling, or increasing their profits, that is beyond the experience of these ingenuous people. It does not occur to them that a factory normally has to train its learners at its own expense, that learners can produce for sale after a few days, and that six or twelve weeks of training is simply a donation to the factory owners. One town went so far as to build a factory and call it a school, thus using town funds which otherwise could not have been touched. After the factory staff was trained, the use of the "school" was given to the company free of cost for five years.

A still more ominous note in the story is the effort to remove the stigma from factory work and make it above social reproach. If a factory is lured to a town, hundreds of young women will enrol for "study," virtually every girl without a job. Many of them may be high-school graduates, dozens will have been to college, and there will be a few college graduates among them. In one factory the company employs a recreation supervisor who has organized her girls into Greek-letter sororities. That gives factory work an "air." Her machine operators have access to a reading course, and a meeting place where they can take lessons at a small fee in ballroom dancing and bridge. The whole town thus goes factory-minded; the factory is the center of community life. I am not suggesting there should be a social stigma on factory work or that industry should not become a social center of the community. The tragedy is in the inversion of a truly social picture. The factory here is not the servant of the community; the whole community has gone into service to the factory. But Mississippi does not see it that way. It finds nothing questionable in the fact that the Mississippi Power Company usually is the agent in soliciting companies to move to the state—though it does not give them free power—and that the chambers of commerce take the initiative in finding the free building and in soliciting the help of the state and federal educational authorities. It takes for granted that things have to be done in this way. Nor does it occur to people that if they tempt a factory, say, from the North, where labor unions are growing strong, and thus take hundreds of local young

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people off relief, an equal number will go on relief in the North. Hasn't the state passed a law to authorize them to bid for factories with the bribe of five years' tax exemption? It is part of the competitive way of doing things, the only way they know. Some of the training schools have been set up in this interstate competition, some to train workers for factories which have had to move out of prisons as a result of recent reform legislation. But in them all the theme is the same—"education" is thrown in as an inducement to a textile company to start a factory and is not even dreamed of as a serious community responsibility.

Now the question naturally arises how Mississippi has been able to give the impression that it can enlist federal funds for its educational racket, and to what extent it has done so truthfully. The question is asked first of all by organized labor, which has been bombarding Washington with protests against this practice and has also made protests to the state department of education. Labor, however, is not strong in Mississippi and the more effective answer was expected from Washington, where both the Interior Department and the Department of Labor have been given a full account of abuses. Certain results have been obtained, in that the federal Office of Education has exacted a promise from Mississippi that no federal funds shall be spent this year on these textile "schools." It remains to be seen whether the promise will be actually or only formally kept. A state might manage to charge textile-machine "education" to itself and spend correspondingly more federal money on approved projects.

The federal Office of Education has now formulated its policy as to the use of federal funds on state projects. I am told the policy is not new, but it has now been put down briefly for communication to all state educational departments. It comes under seven heads, and the use of federal funds is "believed to be justified" when:

1. The employer does not get production work done at a reduced cost.
2. The persons who serve as instructors devote definite periods of time to approved instruction with definite objectives under an organized plan and under public supervision and control; there must be a segregation of time for each person.
3. The training department or school is at all times open and accessible to supervisors and other authorized persons representing public vocational education.
4. The instructors meet all the qualifications set up in state plans.
5. Repetitive practice *on learner status* is not carried beyond the point necessary to reach the standard for the job or operation.
6. The state supervisor of trade and industrial education can show that he has visited, inspected, and supervised the work sufficiently to make sure that there is nothing irregular about it.
7. The number being trained is in keeping with the absorbing power of the service area.

It must be said, however, that this minimum standard of vocational education set by the federal government is not as high as many might wish. It does not require education in citizenship as part of vocational training, and it is satisfied on the whole if the training given is free from exploitation and enables the pupil to get a job. But I gladly draw a distinction between most of the vocational education provided by the government and such occasional abuses as the Mississippi racket. Vocational education is being given to about 1,400,000 persons without such abuses, and valuable service is being rendered on which no discredit should fall. The story of Mississippi, however, points to the danger of the South becoming industrialized on a level of complete servitude to the machine, and challenges both state and federal authorities to meet the problem with a constructive long-term policy more far-reaching than any now being pursued.

Prize Journalism Under Hitler

By HEINRICH L. SCHILLER

GERMANY'S heavy artillery in its journalistic assault on the Jews is represented by two weeklies, the *Stürmer* and the *Judenkenner*. About as large as the American tabloid, these two papers run to eight pages an issue and cost twenty pfennigs. Neither paper restricts itself to fighting the Jews but combats also the Catholics and the Free Masons. Nor is the battle against Judea confined to Germany. All countries are included, and in a recent issue of the *Judenkenner* the United States was given an entire page. Here is one of the "astounding facts" unearthed by the editors:

> We note . . . that in the United States . . . there is a Jewish state within the state, with its own organization, legislation, pronouncements, and administration, with its own state organs, authorities, officials, its own law, its own press, its own politics.

A more appreciative tone toward America is revealed in the following, printed when the Bremen and the Albert Ballin rescued the crew of a distressed Japanese freighter:

> If instead of Albert Ballin the name had been that of America's popular President, Abraham Lincoln, we would certainly have gained a milestone in the entire English-speaking world. . . . Not only that but Japan too . . . would have been on our side all along the line. . . . With the dropping of the boat's Jewish name we would be helping our German seamen and Germans abroad in a large way. . . . May the day not be far away when this Jewish name will disappear from German shipping. . . . Only thus can we convince the world of our pure honest will for peace.

The *Stürmer* is blessed with a larger circulation than the *Judenkenner*. Besides being available for twenty pfennigs, it may also be read free of charge in all the larger towns in a public *Stürmer* display case. Dedicated to "the Battle for Truth," the paper stresses every week in large roman type that "the Jews Are Our Misfortune." Its subject matter is varied, as witness the following titles of articles in recent issues: The Jew in the Pig Pen, The Jew as a Pimp, Back to the Ghetto!, The Girl Ravisher in Weimar, The Leech Lowenthal, New Zealand Wants

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No Jews, Girl Raper Punished, The Jew Is Our Enemy.

Though the German press gave but scant consideration to the Hauptmann trial, the *Stürmer* was more generous. Its big scoop was a "Letter from America." Printed last March, it occupied almost a quarter of a page and came from the Protestant Union for Civic Welfare. "The verdict against Hauptmann," declares the letter, "is the product of the American Jews and the press which is controlled by them." Furthermore,

> The greatest wave of anti-Semitism is rolling over our country and no human power can stop it—at the most an act of God. And the Jews have brought this upon themselves. . . . If the great German nation stands by and watches how the American Jews crucify this youth, and only because of their violent hatred of Hitler and the New Germany, then a hundred million Christians in this country are lost.

The *Stürmer* watches everything. For example, if an Aryan should forget himself and buy from a Jew, the *Stürmer* is sure to see it:

> It is a shame when two hereditary peasants, Georg Heinrich Sassmannshausen and Heinrich Dreisbach, both from Birkenfeld, do business with the notorious Talmud Jew and Nazi-hater, Simon from Erndtebrück. That's how grateful these Jew vassals are to the Führer Adolf Hitler for being freed from Jewish bonds!

Here is another business item:

> It's all the same to the Jew what business he's in. All that matters is that he can snatch enough money. So it should be easy to understand that the Jew Hartog in Gangelt even does business in rosary beads and articles for communion. But the saddest part is played by those Catholics who forget themselves so much as to adorn their communicants with articles delivered by the heirs of the Christ-murderers.

The following paragraph was headlined, "Jew Triumph at the Altenburger Market":

> The Altenburger Market at Heftricht is centuries old. Five times a year our fellow-citizens gather there to do business. Where money is to be had, the Jew of course is out in front. So it's no miracle that the Altenburger market is overrun with Jews. Toward the end of last year the following incident occurred. Soon after the market's opening two youths displayed a sign, "The Jews Are Our Misfortune." And behold, the Jews began to howl and cry. They ran for the police and demanded the sign be removed. And what no upright Heftrichter would have imagined actually happened! Two police officials removed the sign while the Jews stood around laughing and snickering.
>
> We advise these two officials to join the service of the Jews. As sign removers in the pay of Judea they can earn immortal fame.

The next item was entitled, "Insolence of Jewish Advertising Soliciting." It was part of a half-page article:

> In this number [Number 13] of the *Israelitische Gemeindeblatt* there is another advertisement on page one. An advertisement representing the height of insolence! An advertisement we would not have thought possible if we had not seen it with our own eyes! The management of the Fachingen State (!) Bath advertises in a Jewish paper. . . . Here a state, and hence a National-Socialist, bath is misused in most incredible fashion! If the advertisement is examined under a magnifying glass, an eagle is seen in the firm's trade mark. And on the breast of this eagle we discover—a swastika! . . . How the Jews must have laughed, sneered, and mocked when they spied Adolf Hitler's sign in their paper!
>
> But the entire German people recognizes in this incident . . . an insolent scorning and vilifying of our symbol. We demand the immediate discharge of the responsible manager of the Fachingen State Bath. . . . Away with those men who are in the pay of Judea!

Another bath whose advertising was under the scrutiny of the *Stürmer* was the Mergentheim bath. In its prospectus for 1935 Mergentheim calls the attention of prospective guests to the fact that there are "Church services: Catholic and Evangelical churches; synagogues." Says the outraged *Stürmer*:

> This is an open invitation to Jews to take the cure at Mergentheim. In the beginning of the season no doubt some dozens of Jews will go to Mergentheim. But on this account hundreds of German guests will stay away. That will be the success of this Jew-friendly advertisement of a place which is limping sadly out of step with the times.

As might be expected, the *Stürmer* is much concerned with the lamentable fact that some Nazis have not yet scaled the heights of prosperity, while "even in the Third Reich there are still some Jews who live like kings." For example:

> What right has a Jew to an automobile when the German must walk or ride in the street car? If no gasoline were sold to Jews the situation would soon be different.

That the *Stürmer* is deemed excellent material for the Nazi schoolroom goes without saying. Indeed, in many schools the paper is displayed in the classroom. Now and then children's compositions are published in the paper itself. Here is the conclusion of one entitled, "The Jews Are Our Misfortune."

> We [in Germany] were at the brink of a grave. Then came Adolf Hitler. Now the Jews in other countries are baiting us. But we will not be led astray. We will follow our leader. We will buy nothing from Jews. Every pfennig we give them kills one of our comrades.

Being something of a family sheet, the *Stürmer* also conducts a *Briefkasten*, wherein it seeks to answer the queries of its harassed readers. These answers sometimes run to great length and in a way perhaps explain the paper's popularity. The following are just a few of the more enlightening answers:

D. As we hear, the Seifert Company has connected with it, in a profit-sharing capacity, the full-blooded Jew Carsch. The Seifert Company is thus not Aryan.

D. If your society's official organ, the *German Barber*, wants to be a journal true to the spirit of National Socialism, it must not accept Jewish advertising.

S. If you saw this member of the party enter Jew Abraham's photo store at the back entrance after dark, then it is your duty to report him to the party officers.

F. It is a disgrace that Jews are still allowed to visit bathing beaches. For the present all you can do is not to attend such places. Soon things will be different.

J. It's a shame when a group of civil-service workers and business men of Jülich, even today, have to associate with Jews and bowl in their company.

T. Whether the National Cash Register Company of Dayton, Ohio, is a Jewish enterprise we do not know.

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Hacking to Justice with Cummings

By PAUL W. WARD

THE New Deal was rendered legally impotent when Roosevelt made Homer Stillé Cummings his Attorney General in March, 1933. Cummings is a hack politician who, lured into Democratic ranks by the windy oratory of William Jennings Bryan, served as a Connecticut member of the Democratic National Committee for twenty-five years, was mayor of Stamford for three terms, fought the good fight with Roper for McAdoo and against Smith in 1924, and from 1914 to 1924 luxuriated in the appointive office of State's Attorney for Fairfield County.

While holding the last-named post he carved a niche for himself in the annals of criminal jurisprudence by his admirable handling of the Israel case. Forsaking the traditional role of the prosecuting attorney, he proved through diligent and personal detective work the innocence of the defendant, Israel, against whom a *prima facie* case of murder had been developed, bulwarked by a confession from the accused. The laudations which that case evoked have caused him to search with as nearly equal diligence as failing health and heavier duties will allow for an opportunity to repeat the performance as Attorney General. So far the best he has been able to do—by undermining most of the evidence on which they were convicted of arson—is to win a new trial for two Washington law-school students, one of them the son of a Connecticut physician.

He has failed, however, to evince any comparable interest in the victims of racial or political prejudice. Lynchings, even when brought within federal jurisdiction by being complicated with interstate kidnapping, as in the Claude Neal case at Marianna, Florida, in October, 1934, leave him mute. The agents he has sent to investigate such crimes and similar, if less severe, crimes against radical agitators have seemed fired solely with ambitions to disprove federal jurisdiction. When the N. A. A. C. P. and similar Negro groups sought to add the lynching question to the agenda for the loudly ballyhooed National Crime Conference that Cummings staged at Washington in December, 1934, he rebuffed them. Cummings's liberalism, even within the confines of the criminal law, is limited to 100 per cent politically safe issues.

Partly for that reason, his crime conference was one of the most bizarre spectacles ever staged in Washington. It reached its peak when Fulton Oursler, editor of *Liberty*, delivered a sales talk for the Macfadden publications and old Bernarr himself, while pretending to be orating on the press and crime. It was a ghastly speech, full of the "treat 'em rough; shoot first and think afterwards" stuff so dear to the tough-cop and other types of moron mind. Cummings approved, although penologists in the audience, including officials of the United States Bureau of Prisons, shook their heads sadly over Oursler's atavistic urgings.

Making the proceedings doubly nauseous, Cummings lectured the conference on keeping politics out of the nation's law-enforcement machinery. He, who has been hacking to justice on gift horses from Farley ever since he assumed the Attorney Generalship, shamelessly belabored the subject, as did many of the political hacks who are his assistants, and the audience, made up almost entirely of law officers owing their jobs to nothing but political patronage, as shamelessly cheered them on.

But all this has little to do with the obstructionist role Cummings has played in the New Deal's larger activities. Although Cummings—who incessantly chews small bits of paper and looks as though he could take his collar off over his head if his nose would get out of the way—has posed from time to time as a foe of Wall Street, he has been involved in only one major assault against the vested interests. That was his appearance for the Baush Machine Tool Company against the Mellon-controlled Aluminum Company of America in a triple-damage suit against the latter for violation of the anti-trust laws. Cummings was aggressive as counsel in that case, but somehow he lost that aggressiveness when he entered the Department of Justice.

For more than two years he has had the Aluminum Company under investigation. It had been under investigation for several years before he took office. Shortly thereafter he received a white-washing report from Benham, the chief investigator and an Old Dealer. Cummings publicly scorned the report and valiantly demanded that it be rechecked, but, unaccountably, he turned the job over again to the men who had made the original investigation, which had consisted in large part of asking Aluminum Company officials if they really, honest Injun, were violating the anti-trust laws. Cummings still is waiting for a report to his liking, although months ago, on a retrial of the Baush suit, a Connecticut jury found the Aluminum Company guilty of violating the anti-trust laws to such an extent that it awarded the plaintiff in that civil action approximately $3,000,000 damages.

That, with the exception of one motion-picture case, there have been no substantial anti-trust-law cases instituted by the Department of Justice under Cummings may be explained away in general on the ground that, with those laws reduced to a nebulous state by the NRA, prosecutions of that sort were futile. Cummings himself held forth at a press conference in late 1933 on the futility of prosecuting under the anti-trust laws a steel corporation, for example, that could show the jury that the offense charged specifically had been approved by Roosevelt when he signed the industry's code. But the explanation does not hold in the case of the Aluminum Company, for the NRA washed its hands of it in a scorching report based on a survey of its own. That leaves Cummings's aides obliged to resort to another unofficial explanation—that the Attorney General is reluctant to proceed against the Aluminum Company of America lest he be accused of persecuting the Mellons.

This last explanation is plausible, if not acceptable, for Cummings got his fingers burned early in the New Deal through his amazing announcement that Andy Mellon would be indicted for income-tax dodging. Ever since, Andy has been hurling charges of persecution at the Administration.

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The announcement was amazing only because it presumed to anticipate the decision of a grand jury—and, mark you, a Pittsburgh grand jury—before it had begun its inquisition. It became something more than amazing when, to Cummings's immense chagrin, the grand jury refused to indict Mellon. That hurt far more than the Supreme Court's NRA decision, although the latter was technically the most overwhelming defeat dealt any Attorney General in recent years.

In reality, the Supreme Court decision boosted Cummings's stock within the Administration because he privately and accurately had predicted what the court would do to the NRA, which he approved in broad principle. He had fought against a final court test for that reason, oblivious to the fact that the business of an Attorney General is not merely to pick winning cases and that the public interest demands prompt dissolution of all juridical mirages such as the NRA. That able if unimaginative lawyer, Stanley F. Reed, who became Solicitor General in March, 1935, joined Cummings in fighting against a final court test for the NRA, and between them they forced withdrawal of the government's appeal in the Belcher case. Reed offered to take personal responsibility for that withdrawal, which brought a storm of protests.

It was Roosevelt and Richberg who crumpled under that storm, not Cummings and Reed. When the Circuit Court of Appeals in New York shortly thereafter handed down its opinion in the Schechter case, sustaining the NRA as a constitutional measure but denying the federal government power to regulate wages and hours in an industry selling only in intrastate commerce, Richberg radioed Roosevelt. The President, then fishing off the Florida coast, in turn radioed the Justice Department, directing Cummings to press an immediate appeal to the Supreme Court in the Schechter case. Under the circumstances, Cummings was glad to make Richberg a special Assistant Attorney General and let him assist in presenting the case to the Supreme Court; that kept responsibility for the final outcome divided, and it was Richberg's legal repute, not Cummings's, that suffered at the White House when the decision was handed down.

The general character of Cummings's subordinates can be judged by the fact that, when a young lawyer with a glistening scholastic and trial record applied for a transfer to the Justice Department from the legal division of an agency that was being liquidated, the Assistant Attorney General who interviewed him bluntly replied: "Two Senators are worth any amount of efficiency in this department." He meant that political indorsements were all that counted. There is scarcely an informed person in Washington who would doubt the statement. Cummings has taken into his department men that Farley wouldn't have even in the Post Office Department. Cummings is a staunch party man and when the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, alias the Postmaster General, sends him a job-hunter, that hunter has found a job. His devotion to Smiling Jim has made him ridiculous in more ways than one; there was, for example, the time he rebuked Norman Thomas in a public meeting for referring to Farley as a "convenient symbol of something we don't need." But perhaps that wasn't devotion; it may have been conscience.

Thus Cummings has loaded up the Department of Justice with political hacks in a measure that equals, if it does not exceed, the accomplishments in this respect of any Old Deal Attorney General, and Roosevelt facilitated the process by issuing on June 10, 1933, an executive order authorizing the consolidation within the Justice Department of the legal divisions of all other federal agencies. It was supposed to be an economy order, but in most instances it has resulted only in larger pay rolls, duplication of facilities, and more red tape and inefficiency.

The fact that the Department of Justice is a bottleneck through which all the New Deal's legal juices must flow—only a very few agencies, such as the SEC, having anything approaching complete legal autonomy—makes Cummings and his Augean stable of political hacks a complete offset to the bevy of young crusaders that such holy ghosts of liberal jurisprudence as Felix Frankfurter recruited for the More Abundant Life battalions. Pausing only to point to the evanescent Donald Richberg as an example, I hasten to add that these recruits were, like Blackstone, somewhat overrated by that segment of the public mind that viewed them as true harbingers of a New Deal. But compared with most of those in the Justice Department who can and do check them at almost every turn—if only through natural departmental jealousy enhanced by envy of the higher salaries which lavish-handed administrators established in the emergency agencies—these militants are marvels.

Think of Tom Corcoran and Jerome Frank in the RFC, Ben Cohen and Nathan Margold in the PWA, Charles Wyzanski in the Labor Department, and Jim Landis, Robert Healy, Dave Saperstein, and John Burns in the SEC. Then consider, for example, the New Deal's first Solicitor General, J. Crawford Biggs, the North Carolina small-town lawyer who got the job because there were no other candidates in the field, all others having assumed that Frankfurter was to have the post. When Frankfurter declined, there was Biggs, replete with indorsements from Josephus Daniels, O. Max Gardner, a horde of judges, and a score of past presidents of the American Bar Association. Biggs became completely engrossed in teacup balancing and after two years was squeezed out of the Justice Department, with a post as RFC voting trustee on the Wheeling and Lake Erie for solace. He was supplanted as Solicitor General by Reed, a Kentuckian who has been through the Yale, Virginia, Columbia, and Sorbonne mills and who from December, 1919, to December, 1932, was general counsel to the Federal Farm Board. Thereafter he became general counsel to the RFC, from which post he switched to the Solicitor Generalship. He kept as Assistant Solicitor General the frigid Scot, the late Angus W. MacLean, whom Biggs had brought to Washington from North Carolina to do his work and leave him free for the heavy social duties that were his heart's delight.

MacLean was notable for having represented all the corporate interests there were to represent in his section of North Carolina; for having led as a member of that state's General Assembly a successful fight to lighten the tax load on tobacco land by establishing a state-wide consolidated school system; for having doubled income and corporation taxes while loading on a sales tax to make the consolidation possible; and for having demolished the business lobby that fought the tax bill by charging publicly that it was using

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"women and liquor." That charge put an end to vote-trading and resulted in the passage of the bill, forty-four legislators having been accompanied to the capital by their wives when they returned the week following publication of MacLean's charge.

The only Justice Department official who bears a reputation as a liberal—except Sanford Bates, director of the Bureau of Prisons, who had a hard time dodging the melodrama Cummings likes to see all criminal activities couched in—is Harold M. Stephens, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the anti-trust division. He is a scholar and has been a judge. A Nebraskan by birth and a graduate of Harvard, he practiced law at Salt Lake City from 1912 until he joined the New Deal. Handicapped by subordinates of the best Farley-Cummings strain and by being called upon for myriad performances outside his own field, Stephens has yet to justify his reputation.

The other assistant attorneys general fit into the general departmental picture. Francis J. Wideman, in charge of tax suits, is a Shriner from Florida who served briefly in the Jacksonville City Council and was a delegate to the 1932 Democratic National Convention. George C. Sweeney, in charge of civil suits other than tax cases, is a past exalted ruler of the Elks and a chair magnate of Gardner, Massachusetts; he was mayor of that little town when duty called him to the Justice Department. Harry W. Blair, who has charge of the public-lands division, is an obscure lawyer from Joplin, Missouri. Equally obscure is Joseph R. Jackson, who has charge of customs cases. Joseph B. Keenan, next to Stephens the ablest of the assistant attorneys general, has charge of criminal cases. He is a Rhode Islander who after being graduated from Brown and Harvard set himself up as a lawyer at Cleveland and handled an Ohio crime investigation.

That brings us back to Homer, the tall, stooping, affable boss of the lot. All this Mason, Elk, Old Fellow, and Eagle wanted for the hard work he expended in furthering Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy was appointment as Governor General of the Philippines. He got it and was on his way there when he stopped off in Washington for the 1933 inaugural. He got no farther. Tom Walsh, the valiant, whom Roosevelt initially named Attorney General, had died while en route to the inaugural. Cummings was pressed into service, an Attorney General being badly needed in the mad days that followed, as Roosevelt with the gestures of a necromancer closed, then opened the banks. By the time the air had cleared, Cummings was firmly in the Attorney General's seat and the Justice Department was well on its way to becoming the Circumlocution Office instead of a veritable New Deal front such as Walsh undoubtedly would have made it. In the financial crisis Cummings had obligingly produced whatever sort of opinion was needed from moment to moment, so Roosevelt kept him, regardless of the contrast between him and Walsh, the original choice.

Old Dealers who had trembled at the news of Walsh's advent hung out the "business as usual" sign. They knew that under Cummings the law would continue to be not only what Mr. Bumble said it was but what somebody else has described as a cobweb which catches small flies but which the bigger bugs break through.

[*Mr. Ward's next article, Hull House on Pennsylvania Avenue, will appear in the issue of July 17.*]

Correspondence

Letters on Stolberg

Black Chauvinism

To the Editors of The Nation:

A very timely article is Benjamin Stolberg's Black Chauvinism. The author is almost entirely on sound ground. It is unfortunate, therefore, that he felt the need of exaggeration to strengthen his thesis.

Of the Civil War he says, "The war was not fought *by* the Negro, and no revolution can be won vicariously." In other words, my friend Stolberg makes the usual error of assuming that the Aframerican's part in that conflict and the events leading up to it was entirely passive. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Negroes not only played an important part in the anti-slavery fight through writing books and pamphlets, lecturing, and getting slaves out of the South along the underground railroad (Frederick Douglass, Bishop Alexander Crummel, Sojourner, and Aunt Harriet Tubman, to name a few), but supported the cause financially. At one time the majority of the subscribers of the *Liberator* were colored people.

When one considers the fact that 178,975 Negro soldiers in 141 infantry regiments, seven cavalry regiments, twelve heavy artillery regiments, and one of light artillery fought to preserve the Union, it seems ridiculous to assert that the war was not fought by the Negro. The first colored regiments to be organized were the First South Carolina, May 9, 1862; the First Louisiana Native Guards, September 27, 1862; the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, February 9, 1863; and the Second Carolina Volunteers, February 23, 1863. While 78,779 of the black volunteers were from the North, the remainder were former slaves. These troops fought in some of the bloodiest battles in the Civil War. Not only that but large numbers of black troops fought for the Confederacy. Of 28,000 Confederate troops on review in New Orleans in November 23, 1861, there was one regiment of 1,400 colored men. In February 1864, the Confederate Congress passed an act making all free Negroes between eighteen and fifty liable for military service.

My friend Stolberg falls into another white American error in assuming that some one or two people lead or can lead the Negro race in America. Inasmuch as this is not true of any group anywhere on earth, why should it be true of the Negroes? There are many philosophies, many schools of thought among colored people in America, perhaps as many as there are sections of the country. There are thousands of intelligent Negroes who agree with neither the Washington nor the DuBois school of thought. And it certainly is not true that the race now has no leadership because Dr. DuBois quit the N. A. A. C. P. There are hundreds of leaders in education, business, journalism, fraternalism, medicine, politics, labor, and social work.

While Stolberg is on the subject of chauvinism, perhaps he will explain satisfactorily his assertion that the colored man or woman who acquired at a great sacrifice a liberal education thereby became a "spoiled Negro." This comes dangerously close to agreeing with the Southern Bourbons who declare that to educate a Negro is to "spoil" him. And where does my friend Stolberg get the idea that "Dr. DuBois's militant intellectual Negro finally cut himself off from these masses by seeking preferential treatment in the white world"? Where are these Negroes? He surely cannot be referring to Charles H. Houston, the Harvard-educated lawyer who is heading the fight on Jim Crowism in the Southern tax-supported colleges, in-

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equalities in teachers' salaries, and public-school fund allotments for the N. A. A. C. P., nor can he be referring to men like the City College graduate A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He cannot mean Laurence C. Jones, who went into the wilderness of Mississippi from the University of Iowa and built up a great school for Negroes in a state where there are few. There are thousands of such Negroes of college education who have been and are laboring to lift the economic, social, and cultural status of the masses of Negroes.

Moreover, it is these educated Negroes who have borne the brunt of the fight to break down economic, social, political, and residential barriers. Dr. L. A. Nixon of El Paso, Texas, headed the fight on the Texas white primary. Dr. Sweet of Detroit opened the way for the dangerously crowded Negro population to expand. Walter White personally investigated twenty lynchings. There are thousands of others. Is fighting for citizenship and manhood rights cutting oneself off from the masses? Is it seeking preferential treatment to want to vote, live in a healthy locality, and get a Pullman berth from Washington to Mississippi? Is it seeking preferential treatment to go to the bat for Negro enfranchisement in the savage South?

It is equally an error to assume that all the Negroes flocked to Garvey or are flocking to Father Divine. Garvey never had more than 30,000 followers, as Cyril Briggs will attest. Millions of Negroes do not belong to any church, let alone believing in Divine. This is especially true of colored men, among whom the percentage of church members is less than among white men.

I agree whole-heartedly with my friend Stolberg when he says "there is no future for the American Negro in chauvinism, right or left," but he did not have to wander away from the strict truth in order to prove it.

New York, May 20 GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Condescending Paternalism

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

When Benjamin Stolberg in his article, Black Chauvinism, discovers a "split in the psychology of the American Negro" and refers to the Negro as a "sociological caricature" he displays complete inability to grasp even the barest essentials of the question. One who professes to talk in scientific and even in (save the mark!) Marxian terms about social phenomena should at least have thought out the problem beyond a vagueness implicit in such psychological concepts when applied to social movements. The methodology of Mr. Stolberg bears a certain fundamental resemblance to that which produced the anti-Semitic tripe of national socialism. Did not *The Nation,* steeped in Abolitionist traditions, as much as sense the stench of condescending paternalism and insulting matter-of-fact chauvinism which pervades the whole article?

Only one entirely ignorant of the profound stirring among all strata of the Negro people, or an out-and-out political charlatan, could state that the Negroes are today leaderless, or that they "are falling for Father Divine." At no time since the Reconstruction period has there been such a vital clash of issues and discussion of political programs among Negroes as today. The fact that followers of Father Divine participated in the May Day parade side by side with Communists and tens of thousands of white workers is highly significant and important, and cannot be dismissed, as Mr. Stolberg attempts, with a knowing wave of the hand. It shows that even those masses most backward politically, and under the influence of the most primitive form of religionism, are today being set in motion toward a class-conscious position.

Nor can Mr. Stolberg explain away with smart all-inclusive phraseology the rapidly growing Communist influence among broad sections of the Negro people. Could there be anything more ridiculous than his main thesis—the hungry and bewildered and leaderless Negro masses are now finding escape in "racial chauvinism," and "the Communist Party, anxious for a 'mass base' in the black world which it lacks in the white, is catering to this very chauvinism"?

Chauvinism, this trained student of world affairs should know, is peculiar only to an oppressing people. White chauvinism and the practices of "white superiority" have been the principal factors leading to the rise of Negro nationalism, which it pleases our pseudo-Marxist to call "black chauvinism." But Mr. Stolberg only displays an abysmal ignorance of the source of the nationalist movement among Negroes, which is largely a reaction to oppression, an expression of the mass upsurge against this oppression. Petty-bourgeois Negro leaders (now including Dr. DuBois) and organizations are attempting to divert this upsurge into channels of separatism and segregation. It is precisely against such petty-bourgeois nationalism that the Communist Party fights, while at the same time directing its main efforts in a struggle against all aspects of white chauvinism, especially in the labor movement, where every chauvinist act provides grist for the mill of the segregationists.

The article is so evidently incompetent. Was it the anti-Communist conclusion which prompted *The Nation* to publish it?

New York, June 2 JAMES S. ALLEN

Testimony in Defense

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Inclosed is a copy of a letter which several of us of the faculty of Howard University have addressed to the editor of the *Crisis*. Since Benjamin Stolberg's article on Black Chauvinism, which is the subject of our controversy with the *Crisis,* appeared in *The Nation* originally, we should like our reaction to it to appear in your columns as well.

Washington, D. C., June 14 EMMETT E. DORSEY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:

We are deeply disturbed by your editorial comment on Benjamin Stolberg's article on Black Chauvinism in *The Nation.* We wish to protest the obvious distortion of the whole meaning of his position, which was a brilliant and sound analysis of the tragic predicament of the American Negro today. Your reference to Stolberg as a white Southern Bourbon could be easily dismissed as absurd were it not indicative of the very chauvinism he is attacking. Anyone who knows the history of Ben Stolberg—and everyone in the N. A. A. C. P. must know it—and who none the less interprets his outlook as the *Crisis* does is either stupid or vicious. And we are inclined to believe that in this instance the *Crisis* was both. It was stupid because it patently tore two sentences out of their context contrary to the letter of the passage between the two sentences and contrary to the spirit of the whole essay. And it was vicious because it expressed the growing racial sensitiveness in our Negro life, which is bound to work against the very desegregation which Mr. Stolberg so militantly demanded in the very article you attacked and for which the *Crisis* at one time stood without equivocation.

If Benjamin Stolberg's article in *The Nation* expresses white Southern Bourbonism, we demand that the editor of the *Crisis* print this letter so that the world may know that we, Negro teachers at Howard University, subscribe to the same kind of white Southern Bourbonism.

Washington, D. C., June 14 STERLING A. BROWN
RALPH J. BUNCHE
EMMETT E. DORSEY
E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

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The Workmen's Circle

To the Editors of The Nation:

Mr. Benjamin Stolberg, who in his judgments on the Socialist Party assumes the pontifical air of an ecclesiastical father from whom there can be no secrets, evidently deems it important to take a jab at the Workmen's Circle, the great Jewish Fraternal Order having a membership of 70,000 in the United States and Canada. This is what Mr. Stolberg says: "Another powerful Socialist auxiliary is the Workmen's Circle, a Jewish workmen's benevolent society whose energies are also expended mostly in bitter denunciation of Stalin as being not one whit better than a fascist."

I was under the impression that the doings of an organization are known by its official acts, published statements, and the decisions of its governing bodies. I would like to ask Mr. Stolberg when and by which act did the Workmen's Circle as a body denounce the Soviet Union or slander its leaders? To say that the Workmen's Circle is "expanding its energies in bitter denunciation of Stalin" is the malicious statement of a man who is in fundamental ignorance of the purposes and activities of the Workmen's Circle. Far from spending its energies on trivial political squabbles, it is exerting them for the betterment of conditions of its membership and the laboring masses generally. It is attempting to raise their cultural and political level and to teach them their place in modern capitalist society. The Workmen's Circle is an inter-party organization where adherents of every wing of the labor and radical movements have the freedom to advocate their special brand of economic and political thought so long as their words or actions do not deliberately react to the harm of the organization.

I can hardly understand Mr. Stolberg's purpose in dragging the Workmen's Circle into the net of Socialist organizations for his caustic and oh-so-sophisticated attack. To me it seems very much like the act of pen-brigandage so masterfully characterized by the famous Alexander Herzen. Mr. Stolberg's spurious attack on the Workmen's Circle is merely words, hostile words, without base or foundation. It is to be hoped that the readers of *The Nation* will be able to see behind the malice.

New York, May 31 J. Baskin,
General Secretary Workmen's Circle

Vile Canards

To the Editors of The Nation:

For what purpose is *The Nation* being edited these days? In order to rub out what vestiges remain of any decent human movement to alleviate suffering and restore to mankind some measure of freedom? It would seem so after reading the vicious article on the Socialist Party by Benjamin Stolberg.

Mr. Stolberg's facts are false, his premises cock-eyed, and his writing magnificent. But magnificent writing is no excuse for printing so obviously biased an article as Stolberg's.

Those of us who have been loyal to *The Nation* since Mr. Villard took it over, years back, will find it hard to justify our support of a publication which gives circulation to such vile canards as Mr. Stolberg is guilty of in the article which you carried in your magazine.

Radburn, N. J., June 5 McAlister Coleman

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By DR. MILLARD S. EVERETT

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Labor and Industry

"We Cover the United Front"

By HEYWOOD BROUN

AT the moment of writing it is not possible to predict the precise form which the Wagner bill will take when it comes to the final vote, but there is every evidence of a Congressional desire to add more loopholes to a measure which was in the beginning more than a little drafty. Those who have hailed it as a Magna Charta of labor were decidedly premature. Indeed, I wonder whether labor should ever look to any piece of legislation as a rock on which to build a permanent or even a semi-permanent mansion. There are too many slips between the best of bills (and the Wagner measure is hardly that) and their performance.

Labor runs a double risk in the matter of relying on the aid of lawmakers. Some given bill may seem to offer everything which is desired. And, if we continue the fantasy, this may manage to slip through both houses and obtain a Presidential signature without having picked up crippling amendments along the way. Yet even at this point it is much too soon for bell ringing and dancing in the street. It is utterly impossible to predict the scope and effect of a law, no matter how precise its language, until it has been put into effect and withstood the heat and the cold, the rain and the hail for several years.

Practically no measure of any sort ever lives up to as much as 50 per cent of the hopes of its advocates. The roof is one of the weak points. On paper plans the shingling seems perfect but when the storm comes the hidden leaks develop. I cite 7-a which seemed distinctly promising and turned out to be practically useless as a guaranty of labor's right to organize without employer interference. Dissenters have always found a way to circumvent the most careful kind of legislation, and so poorly or loosely drawn bills may turn into sieves instead of barricades of protection.

Some radical labor sympathizers have been so much fed up with disappointing legislation that they are over-inclined to attack any effort made to improve conditions by law. Such an attitude seems to me an error. Labor ought to make its power felt in legislation but it should always move warily in Washington and keep its fingers crossed. There is too much disposition to say of this Senator, Representative, Cabinet member, or President, "So and so is a friend of labor." Such accolades of approval should be granted only for twenty-four-hour periods, or less, and subject to prompt withdrawal. Most politicians are tight-rope walkers, and the passenger who undertakes to perch upon the shoulders of any one of them is in a decidedly precarious position. He should always be ready to jump for his life at a moment's notice.

It may be trite to say that labor must always look to its own organizational power for its essential strength. Although this saying is familiar enough it cannot be repeated too often. And it seems to me that this is an excellent time for restatement. In my individual opinion important labor leaders are making a grave error in tactics at this very moment. They are hailing a highly dubious bill as a charter of liberties and at the same time announcing that they will have nothing to do with a united front.

In *The Nation* recently I ventured the opinion that if trade unions undertook to "purge" themselves of Communist or "Communistic" members they were very likely to find that employers would seize upon the opportunity to purge themselves of all unions, even the lily-white ones. That is just as true today. One or two labor experts have tried to tell me that William Green's warning to the International Fur Workers' Union was merely a local issue and that it did not truly mean that all unions should expel all Communists. Without passing here and now on the merits of the furriers' case I must say that the A. F. of L. leaders are dealing with devices which are dangerous to the labor movement in general. Employers have simply shown during the last few years that their first line of attack in any economic dispute is to raise the red scare. Surely this practice should be left to the employers and not used by labor leaders themselves. The labor leader who cries "red" today in dealing with a union situation may quite possibly and ironically find the same charge being hurled at himself by the employing groups tomorrow morning. If ever labor needed solidarity and a united front this is the very second.

In particular I may point out that the controversy has been brought up at a time when it may well cripple the rapid growth of white-collar organizations seeking affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. Take, for instance, the case of the Newspaper Guild. As an officer of that organization I have no right to state or even suggest an official policy except by the direction of the membership. But that direction has already been given. The constitution of the Guild says expressly that no political, racial, or sex test shall be made in regard to membership. The constitution of the Guild was adopted unanimously at the Cleveland convention.

Of course, no organization outside the A. F. of L. nor one merely moving in that direction has any right to attempt to dictate policy to such a large and experienced group, but I think it is only fair to point out that there seems to me no disposition on the part of the Guild to depart from its own policy of united front within its own ranks. Of course, there are Communists in the Guild and they have precisely the same rights as other members. The fact that they constitute, in all probability, a small minority does not affect the issue.

If the A. F. of L. can ask for the purging of Communists it can ask for the purging of Socialists or single taxers or anarchists or Townsendites or Republicans or any of the many curious sects which make up the political and economic map of America. I feel certain that there is not a single ism which is not represented in the Guild. We think that is our strength. After all we are newspapermen and we are proud to say, "We cover the united front."

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Gas Sunday

By SAMUEL PAUL PUNER

NOT since the days of the first great American "red scare" in the years immediately following the war has organized labor in the Northwest been subjected to such waves of terrorism and vigilantism as have accompanied some of the recent strikes. After the Minneapolis drivers' strike a small group of young truck drivers organized their fellows in Fargo, North Dakota. The first strike of the newly formed Local 173, of the Chauffeurs, Drivers, Teamsters, and Helpers Union took place in November, 1934. It was in behalf of the local milk drivers. It lasted only one day; then the employers, who had hitherto refused even to discuss the demands, offered to arbitrate. At the end of two weeks, with the help of Governor Olson of North Dakota, the union won a complete victory.

The victory of the milk drivers soon brought the unorganized to union headquarters, and by December, 1934, the union was strong enough to attempt to tackle the employers in the coal, lumber, and ice industries of Fargo and its twin city, Moorhead. The demands were identical with those made and acceded to by the milk industry: (1) union recognition, (2) seniority rights, (3) a minimum wage of $20, (4) a forty-eight-hour week. The employers, balked by the newly formed Associated Industries, an association organized shortly before the milk strike to combat the rising wave of labor organization, refused even to discuss the demands. The workers then took the case to the Regional Labor Board in Minneapolis, but the employers failed to appear at the hearing. A strike was called on January 22, 1935.

The first few days of the strike were met by a stony silence on the part of the employers' association. Picketing continued peacefully and successfully throughout the city. But things were happening beneath the surface. From 200 to 250 deputies were quietly sworn in by State's Attorney Bergesen. (This was subsequently admitted by him when he was called as a witness for the defendants in the injunction proceeding.) Then a twenty-four-hour truce was requested for January 26, and granted by the strikers. A committee representing the Fargo Trades and Labor Assembly conferred with the employers but found them unwilling to yield a point. The strikers returned to the picket lines.

On Sunday, January 27, all was calm and peaceful on the Fargo front. At 3:30 p. m. the Union Hall was crowded with the strikers and their families who had come to hear an instructor of the educational division of the FERA, who was helping them form classes for the study of labor history. About 200 men, women, and children were present. Word came that a crew of men had been seen loading ice on the river. A committee of strikers was delegated to investigate and persuade the men to retire. They left the hall and drove over to the river. As they arrived, the police, already on the scene and reinforced by a band of special deputies, ordered them away. The men refused. Without further ado they were herded into trucks and taken to the police station. One of the pickets, a little more voluble in his objections than the rest, was clubbed by a policeman.

Immediately the police and special deputies were marshaled at headquarters and ordered to march on Union Hall. Armed with clubs and ax-handles, the forces of law and order went into action, having first carefully surrounded the premises and blocked all exits. A demand was made that William Cruden and Austin Swald, officers of the union, submit to arrest. The men countered with the demand that warrants be produced. There were, of course, no warrants, but the police stood their ground. An order went back to headquarters for tear gas, on the ground that the strikers were defying duly constituted police authority. Shortly thereafter, and without warning, the bombardment began through the windows. In a few moments, with eyes streaming from the effects of the gas, the strikers were driven from the hall. The women and children were segregated by the cops and sent home. All the men were arrested, including the FERA instructor. In all, ninety-five arrests were made on "Gas Sunday" and the men remanded to jail for lack of $500 bail each. The pickets seized at the river were charged with rioting, and the union members arrested in the drive on the hall were charged with conspiracy and resisting an officer.

After the preliminary hearing, charges were dismissed against all those driven from headquarters, but the sixteen strikers arrested at the river were held for trial for rioting. All the defendants were found guilty, three being sentenced to six months' imprisonment and thirteen to three months' each. This verdict is now being appealed.

Mass arrests failed to break the strike and, to the dismay of the employers, served to stir up sympathy to such a degree that the legislature passed a resolution of condemnation, charging, among other things, that "the police department of Fargo has deputized individuals of unconcerned standing in this controversy who have used brute force in preventing the strikers from peaceful picketing; and who have committed unlawful acts of violence for the purpose of discrediting the strikers and destroying favorable public opinion in their cause." As a consequence, the employers adopted more conventional tactics and applied for an injunction. The temporary restraining order was obtained without notice, and was so broad and sweeping that under its terms all strike activity, including peaceful picketing, was prohibited. After the hearing, however, the restraining order was modified, but a temporary injunction was issued sufficiently broad to hamper seriously the conduct of the strike, although the legislature had just enacted an anti-injunction law modeled on the federal Norris-La Guardia Act.

Despite this hardship the strike continued unabated with the strong support of organizations throughout the Northwest. Yet almost four months after the strike was declared, the International Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, branded it illegal and revoked the charter of Local 173. After this, the Fargo Trade and Labor Assembly expelled the local and found itself with but a third of its members left. The expulsion has resulted in the organization of the Independent Union of All Workers, 173, with a policy of industrial unionism. The strike continues under militant rank-and-file leadership.

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Books and Films

The Cornetist

By MARK VAN DOREN

When the last freight, dusk-musical, had gone,
Groaning along the dark rails to St. Louis,
When the warm night, complete across the cornfields,
Said there was nothing now, no motion left,
No possible sound, we heard him—
Rocked on the silent porch and heard the low notes

Leave on their level errand like the last sound
Ever to be man-blown about the earth.
Like the last man this sentry of the switches
Blew, and the mournful notes, transcending cinders,
Floated above the corn leaves—
Floated above the silks, until arriving,

Arriving, they invaded our warm darkness,
Deep in the still veranda, and we laughed:
"Why, there he is, that pitiful lone devil;
There is the Frisco nightingale again,
There is our mocking-bird-man"—
Laughed, and said these things, and went to bed.

And slept; but there are nights now when I waken,
After these years, and all these miles away,
When I sit up and listen for the last sound
Man will have made alive; and doubt a little
Whether we should have laughed—
Whether we should have pitied that poor soul.

You were too sure of being there forever,
And I too soon was leaving to be wise.
Not that his horn had wisdom; but at night time
Man has a need of man, and he was there,
Always; the horn was there
Always—and joy, I think, was why we laughed.

And slept; for there is many an hour of drearness,
Many an hour unloud with lips or brass,
When I lie still and listen for the last note
Ever some lung has blown; and am self-envious,
Thinking I once could laugh—
Thinking I once could pity that firm soul.

A Plan to Control Capitalism

Controlling Depressions. By Paul H. Douglas. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

THE author of the present volume feels that the monetary theories of Keynes and Hayek do not explain the generating causes of business cycles. He holds that the fundamental causes are rooted in industrial combinations and monopoly with their rigid prices and, to a lesser degree, in the rigid wage rates which some of the trade unions have maintained. Briefly stated, Douglas's theory is as follows: This is the era of monopoly capitalism, dominated by the holding company in transportation, communication, and power and by the vertical and horizontal combination in manufacturing industry. The primary aim of these monopolistic combines is to obtain a constant rate of profit. They succeed in doing this by keeping the price of their goods and services as nearly stable as possible. This strategy was most successful in the great upswing of 1922-29. During this period technical improvements and increasing investment of capital reduced unit costs, but the price level was kept stable, mainly, by price-control methods, such as "Pittsburgh plus" in the steel industry and the "open-price" competition of numerous trade associations. Wages, however, did not increase in proportion to the expanding productivity of labor and the declining costs of production. They lagged behind prices. Since the income of industrial and farm labor and that of the small salaried man did not increase relative to declining costs and expanding production, stable prices could be achieved only through the restriction of output. This was especially true in the heavy-goods industries, where monopoly is common. The inevitable results of output restriction and the lag of labor income under conditions of stable prices were inflated profits that stimulated speculation, a reduction of mass purchasing power and of the real income of the masses, the over-investment of capital, and then unemployment and the depression.

Although insufficient mass purchasing power is chief among the causes to which the author attributes the depression, it would be a mistake to classify him as an advocate of the so-called high-wages theory of prosperity. According to him, wages can expand only in proportion to labor's increasing productivity and to falling costs. The failure of organized labor to observe this relationship of wages, productivity, and prices frequently leads trade unions to jack up wages in specific trades to the disadvantage of the working class as a whole. Thus on the railroads and in the building trades the high wage-consciousness of the skilled unions resulted in a wage structure which was just as rigid as the prices that were enforced by the monopolistic practices of the employers in those industries. The cost of this benefit was borne by other workers, mainly the unskilled and unorganized, in the form of wage reductions or unemployment. The paramount concern of organized labor should therefore be the increase of the share of the social product which goes to the working class as a whole, and not high wages as such.

In Professor Douglas's estimation the rigidity of wages is not a serious problem because it has manifested itself in only a few industries. But to the extent that it is a problem for present or future concern he proposes that it be taken care of by the organization of labor upon an industrial instead of a craft basis and by the elimination of racial and other restrictions upon trade-union membership. The real problem in business-cycle control is "sticky" or inflexible prices, which employers with the connivance of A. F. of L. leaders have perpetuated in NRA codes. He proposes therefore a more determined enforcement of the anti-trust laws in small industry and abandonment of price fixing. He holds that any attempt to bring about competition in industries dominated by a few concerns is futile. The only remedy is to socialize monopolies. Thus Professor Douglas's plan for controlling depressions and therefore for controlling capitalism—since he thinks it can stand only one or two more depressions—has two objectives. The first objective is to bring about flexible prices and a stable price level. The second is to expand mass purchasing power in relation to the productivity of industry. The chief aspects of the plan are (1) the public ownership of the railroads and utilities, iron and steel, aluminum, electrical machinery, and heavy chemicals; (2) the creation of a central bank with the sole power to manufacture credit and with the power to stabilize prices and to provide employment during depressions; (3) the movement

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or wages in relation to the expansion and contraction of industry; (4) the levying of a federal tax upon corporate profits in excess of 6 per cent on capital actually invested; (5) the distribution of the proceeds of this tax in the form of a consumers' dividend or the expenditure of them upon social services; (6) the concentration of public works upon low-cost housing during depressions; (7) the building up of unemployment reserves during prosperity; and (8) the timing of government expenditures according to the ups and downs of business.

The author looks to a third party composed of farmers, wage-earners, low-salaried workers, and small business men to put his measures into operation. Past attempts to organize such a party have failed because of the divergent economic interests and outlooks of these groups. Nevertheless, Professor Douglas is forced to rely upon them, since his purchasing-power theory skirts the real problem that is at the base of the business cycle. This problem is not the rigidity of prices and monopoly but the conflict betwee· labor income and profits. This conflict, which Marx saw in the conversion of variable capital (means of subsistence) into constant capital (machinery and materials of production), is of course intensified in the period of monopoly capitalism, but it is just as characteristic of the more primitive and individualistic stage. Accordingly, cycles must occur in both stages irrespective of flexible or inflexible prices. Thus, from this standpoint, the socialization of banking and industry and the control of economic life, generally, will not be realized until American labor is made conscious of the conflict of interest that underlies the business cycle and of the necessity to achieve political power.

ABRAM L. HARRIS

Straining to Feel

Poems: 1914-1934. By Herbert Read. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

WITH Mr. Read, who is one of England's foremost critics of art and literature, poetry is something of a side-line. Although he has been in close touch with poetic movements during the last two decades, he has followed rather than helped to lead them. Many of his poems give the impression of exercises in which he is trying to assimilate the inventions of more original writers. This collection shows, nevertheless, that combination of intelligence and sensitiveness which one expects to find in anything he publishes, and it contains a half-dozen poems of genuine distinction.

The early pieces in the imagist manner are not pointed enough to be among the best examples of that school. The war poems are interesting more for the incidents they relate, and for the author's comments upon them, than for the manner of their telling. Mr. Read has not an exceptional ear for music, and he is rarely able to establish a cadence or sustain a form. His real talent is for psychological and moral analysis, and it was not until he underwent the influence of Donne and Eliot that he acquired the technique which enabled him to make good use of this talent in the poems entitled The Analysis of Love, Beata l'Alma, Mutations of the Phoenix, and The Lament of Saint Denis.

Their general theme is the internal conflict of the intellectual who is straining to feel and straining to see. The solutions are the familiar ones of the nineteen-twenties: "sense and image" must be refashioned; "single perceptions," to which "communication is not essential," offer a haven of rest; and there is Lawrence's call of the blood, symbolized by the moon and the phoenix. The poet comes nearest to achieving a balance in these lines:

> Mind wins deciduously,
> hibernating through many years.
> Impulse alone is immutable sap
> and flowing continuance
> extending life to leafy men.

The problem has been solved, however, only in theory: these poems are brittle, of the nerves, and fraught with a sense of isolation.

A recent poem of some length, The Nuncio, which was obviously influenced by W. H. Auden even to several of his mannerisms, shows that Mr. Read has again moved with the times. The old preoccupation is there, but it has taken a new form:

> Floodlights of emotion
> must be thrown against the recessed terraces
> the rectangular towers and bleak buttresses—
> the external form of our adventure.
> We must design with brighter color
> borrowing harmonies from children at school
> and especially on an outer wall
> cast a warmth that will appeal
> to those unable to measure steel.

This envisaging of the problem in its objective and social aspects promises the poet release from the tortures of introspection and progress toward clarity.

PHILIP BLAIR RICE

Cheap Stuff

What So Proudly We Hailed. By Emile Gauvreau. The Macaulay Company. $3.50.

THIS book on Russia by Mr. Gauvreau, who is one of the staff philosophers on William Randolph Hearst's New York *Daily Mirror,* reminds me of Dr. Will Durant's "The Tragedy of Russia." True enough, they differ in their points of view: Dr. Durant didn't like Russia at all, and Mr. Gauvreau seems to like it. But both volumes have this in common: they are incompetent and cheap. Bad work is bad work whether it is on the right or on the left.

Just before the last Presidential election Mr. Gauvreau had a talk with Franklin D. Roosevelt, who confided to him his great interest in Russia. So Mr. Gauvreau took a brief and "memorable trip" to the land of the Soviets to see for himself. In Leningrad he saw some women repairing wires on telegraph poles, and this set him on a long and profound train of thought:

> An air of utter professionality, if I may coin a word, makes it almost impossible to distinguish the repairwoman on the job from the man at the other end of the loop of wire, pulling the slack taut. There are distinguishing measurements, of course, but the mind does not dwell on these long in Russia. The electricity of doing and of producing and of racing toward a goal makes other considerations seem somewhat silly. . . . At times some of the wiring may be weird indeed, and nothing but a woman's intuition may guide you to the mysterious button which turns night into day.

Mr. Gauvreau also saw women clean the streets of Moscow, and he observed their operations very closely. His considered opinion is that "they sweep the streets clean and do the job as though the gutters were their kitchen floors, leaving no corner neglected. Our male American street-cleaning employees are a little weak in the corners."

The Russian, of course, is "essentially tragic and melancholy," and when he "tells you to stop worrying, then is the time to sit up all night and expect the worst." Strangely enough, the Russian also "loves comedy." Then again, the Russian is really a very serious creature. He "wants to believe in the utter truth of that which is depicted for him on

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the stage." There is very little gaiety in him. Consider a Russian dancing. "If he is enjoying the dance, his face, which bears the mask of the stoic with its set lip and corrugated forehead all intent upon the mathematical calculations of toe and heel, whirl and glide, will never reveal it. He is working out a problem in this dance." One would naturally be inclined to think that a country inhabited by such strange people must be somewhat strange itself, and Mr. Gauvreau hastens to say that this is precisely the fact. Classical music when played in Russia, to cite one example, is not like classical music played in any other country. The Russian soil and atmosphere do something fine and special to it. "In the Russian interpretations . . . there is a distinction which is not to be found elsewhere, I think. There is a certain indefinable peace-breathing in the tempo of its dominance which sets it apart from anything like it in the whole world," whatever that may mean. Even locomotives, insists Mr. Gauvreau, are not just locomotives in Russia. He says that once, on a railroad trip, he "was lost in reverie as the locomotive, far ahead, panted and puffed with true Russian patience." The land of the Soviets apparently is too much for one mind to grasp, even when that mind is of the stature of Mr. Gauvreau's. On at least one occasion, he confesses, he had to repair "to the night club for a drink. That is the only thing to do when you are in Russia and thinking too much about Russia."

When Mr. Gauvreau came back to his office in the *Daily Mirror* he found a lot of accumulated work—stories about Sally Rand, Doris Duke, Gloria Vanderbilt, Waxie Gordon, Jessie B. Costello, John Dillinger, Eva Coo, Primo Carnera, Samuel Insull, Upton Sinclair, and "Dutch" Schultz. He recites their tales in typical tabloid manner, and then asks the reader whether he prefers the America of such raffish people to the Russia where women are so busy with worth-while work that men do not even notice their sex. "Is this our country, is this then America? . . . Who has done this thing to us? Shall all be lost because of these? Hardly. We are strong enough. We are big enough. The dream is unending." To drive home his comparison between the two countries Mr. Gauvreau prints two sets of pictures: one group of smiling Russian men, women, and children, and another of American murderers, Lesbians, and unemployed. All the pictures are so selected that they would delight the feature editor of the scummiest tabloid paper.

As Dr. Will Durant's "The Tragedy of Russia" was the cheapest book published so far in the United States against Russian communism, so Mr. Gauvreau's book is the cheapest one that has so far appeared in this country more or less in favor of it.

CHARLES ANGOFF

Caveat Emptor

The Consumer Seeks a Way. By Clark Foreman and Michael Ross. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.

How to Spend Money. By Ruth Brindze. The Vanguard Press. $2.

Counterfeit. By Arthur Kallet. The Vanguard Press. $1.50.

THESE three books, which take up the cause of that forgotten man the consumer, illustrate sharply how difficult any such championship must be. Mr. Foreman and Mr. Ross, after discussing the complicated nature of our economic society, come to the conclusion that only by consumer organization can the ultimate buyer of commodities hope for a fair deal; Miss Brindze describes in detail the quality and quantity standards which consumers must demand in order to assure themselves their money's worth; Mr. Kallet, with more passionate partisanship than any of the others, points out concretely, with the aid of impressive photographs, just how the consumer is hornswoggled by manufacturers, advertisers, and retailers in search of profits. In other words, *if* consumers would get together and, informing themselves about the kind of goods they want, demand that they be satisfied, what Mr. Kallet describes so feelingly would not take place. One would not say that this degree of intelligent self-consciousness on the part of millions of buyers is impossible to hope for. But at least it is far away. There is undoubtedly a small group of consumers who would be willing to study Miss Brindze's clear-cut standards, and who would make effective nuisances of themselves while making purchases, to the ultimate benefit of every other consumer.

There is no doubt that such consumer organization as we now have, as illustrated by publications like the *Consumer's Defender* and *Consumers' Research,* guide the marketing activities of an impressively sizable group of persons—say, a quarter of a million, counting each subscriber as representative of two or three others. But the inertia of a hundred and twenty million, the pressure exerted on them by highly colored advertisements, and the difficulty, even to those of more than average intelligence, of becoming informed about the multifarious tricks in all the retail trades constitute a problem of enormous proportions. Probably the most effective way of tackling it would be to press for the establishment, by government departments, of definite consumer standards, as those standards now exist to a large extent for industry. Mr. Foreman and Mr. Ross might have emphasized this point more clearly, instead of discussing "consumer organization" quite so largely or so generally. Meanwhile those persons who are willing to study Miss Brindze's book, who thereby learn what they ought to be getting when they buy wool or silk or leather or what not, and who insist they be informed of the proportion of honesty and counterfeit in whatever goods they purchase—providing the salesman himself knows the answer—will be assured of more satisfactory goods. For hers is a practical and sensible book, and if it occasionally seems complicated, she is not to blame. The process of mixing shoddy with honest goods has become a fine and excessively devious art. Miss Brindze will help the consumer to master it, to his own advantage.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN

Continuities in Music

The Puritans and Music in England and New England. By Percy A. Scholes. The Oxford University Press. $7.50.

National Music. By Ralph Vaughn Williams. The Oxford University Press. $1.75.

THE celebrated Dr. Burney, whose highly useful "History of Music" is soon to be published in this country, seems to have been among the first to develop the theory that the Puritans hated and suppressed music. Dr. Scholes has thoroughly demolished this idea in a lively and extensive work. He shows that Cromwell, Bunyan, Browne, and many other typical Puritans enjoyed and cultivated the art of music, that the Puritans danced, that opera in England actually began under the Puritans, that musical instruments were fairly common among the Puritans of New England, and that dancing was not unknown among them, apart from the gyrations at Merry Mount. With great care Dr. Scholes portrays the Puritan antipathy to church worship by means of organs and trained choirs, and separates this from the general question of the Puritan enjoyment of music. He also proves that this antipathy was by no means peculiar to the period of the Commonwealth but was part of a conviction that went as far back as Ethel-

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In other words, the Puritans appear in a new guise under the persuasive pen of Dr. Scholes, and English music is shown not to have suffered a destructive break in the seventeenth century.

Dr. Vaughn Williams finds the real break in the English musical tradition at another point and from another cause, that of the rise to power of an uncultured landed gentry in the early eighteenth century, who considered the practice of art unworthy of a gentleman and turned it over to the "foreigner." At the same time the foreign court of St. James brought its own music to England. Dr. Vaughn Williams touches upon certain parallels to these incidents in our history and indeed touches upon the course of American music elsewhere, but the main value of his charming little book for American criticism would seem to lie rather in the implications of what he says about the history of English music or, in general, about "national music." He is strictly a nationalist in music, who believes that national folk music provides the inevitable base for music expression, that here is the "raw material" for national song.

Not all that Dr. Vaughn Williams has to say is new. The essential things have been said by Herder and Böhme. Yet they are wisely said here, in fresh connections, as in the statement that "what we call the classical idiom is the Teutonic idiom and it is absolutely as narrowly national as that of Grieg or Moussorgsky." In declaring that "style is ultimately national" Dr. Vaughn Williams unites this with the idea that originality, particularly as to subject matter, is a notion of rather recent growth—coming in of course on the tide of romanticism; and he protests against contemporary emphasis on "personality." Not least of the contributions of this book is its manner. It would be pleasant if our own gaps and difficulties in creating a national music could be treated, not in terms of a wailing excoriation—as about the Puritans—but with the quiet, sensitive approach of this distinguished critic and composer.

CONSTANCE ROURKE

The Science of the Possible

Boss Rule—Portraits in City Politics. By J. T. Salter. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $2.50.

MOST books on political science include very little discussion of the back-slapping, job-getting, bribe-paying process which goes to make up politics in American cities. Professor Salter represents a hopeful new tendency toward realism in this field. He temporarily left his chair at the University of Wisconsin and lived for fifteen months with the political underlings of the Vare machine in Philadelphia, swapping his promise to name no names for a collection of salty and amusing biographical tales of nine ward leaders, which comprise most of this book. What the author found in Philadelphia is typical of a dozen other large American cities. The material of the study is strictly local, but the moral is national.

Salter found in his study of the Vare machine that about 85 per cent of the local committeemen in the most strongly organized Philadelphia wards were on the public payroll, a percentage which is strikingly paralleled in New York when Tammany is riding high. Fitness for the political job is unimportant; geniality, plus ability to deliver the vote, plus the absence of first-page scandal are the requisites for payroll placement. It is the same, of course, in New York in those areas still under machine control, where a $6,250 Commissioner of Records is unable to read his own name, and where secretaries to justices of the City Court come straight from stevedore jobs by way of district captaincies. Political success, Professor Salter points out, revolves around "these simplest fellow-creature wants: jobs; food; justice—tempered with mercy or favoritism—and taxes; since the power to tax involves the power to destroy." Compared to this appeal the high purposes of efficient government and honest administration seem nebulous indeed. The ward leader never talks idealism except at public functions when he is on exhibition. He holds the constant loyalty of his followers precisely because he assumes that they always want special favors in return for their votes. He is not interested in ultimate social or political goals; to him "politics is a science of the possible."

Professor Salter gives many illustrations of the "fixing" methods of a ward leader. A friendly truck driver, for example, ran down an iceman and then appealed to the leader for a "fix." The evidence was doctored and the case dismissed by a pliant coroner for a total expenditure, aside from the funeral expenses, of only $60. This is how the $60 was distributed:

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Ditto later, another	5.00
Irish sergeant at Forty-third and Tuppen Streets. (He was nice to us—gave us the records. Told us whom we could fix, etc.)	5.00

In spite of the apparent impregnability of the Vare machine, Professor Salter, during the very period of his study, saw the collapse of that machine. He saw Roosevelt and the New Deal displace the grocery baskets of the district leaders with organized home and work relief; he saw the Republican patriots deserting the sinking ship in district after district to support the newly formed Democratic machine that had jobs and pull to offer. The one thing that could most surely smash an American political machine, he concluded, was catastrophe, and especially economic catastrophe.

He might have added that the processes of machine rule in American cities dovetail very neatly into the practices of industrial individualism, and when the industrial machine breaks down, the political machine is likely to collapse with it. The little business man wants little political favors and in normal times the ward leader is able to deliver those favors in return for contributions to campaign chests and industrial jobs for his henchmen. When the taxpayer has no money for anything, and the capitalist no jobs for anybody, and the city treasury runs dry, then the ward politician cannot deliver any substantial favor in return for a vote. Then we have a reform wave, and both the official leaders at City Hall and the unofficial leaders of the political government find themselves among the unemployed.

PAUL BLANSHARD

A One-sided Picture

Middle-class Culture in Elizabethan England. By Louis B. Wright. The University of North Carolina Press. $5.

THE word "Culture" in the title of this volume is in some degree misleading. The author's aim, as defined in his preface, is "to describe the intellectual background and interests of the literate common people, the rank and file who composed the great middle class." One would have expected the word "aesthetic" to have appeared in this definition if it were to cover what is ordinarily included in culture, but that word and what it usually implies are all but ignored in this voluminous and richly documented treatise. Apart from a single paragraph in the opening chapter, we learn nothing about the music, painting, architecture, or furniture of the period, although interest in none of these was confined to the aristocracy and gentry. Music especially, as Mr. Wright is aware, was cultivated more widely in Elizabethan England than it has ever

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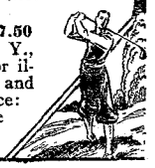

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been since; the painted cloths to which he makes passing allusion were a conspicuous feature of middle-class interior decoration, the domestic architecture of the time still influences our own, and our collectors today cherish the chairs and cupboards of the middle-class households of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is much still to be learned about all of these, and the absence of a discussion of them leaves the picture of the state of Elizabethan culture somewhat bleak and one-sided.

What he does deal with, fully and with lavish illustration from contemporary documents, is the mind and aspirations of the burgess as revealed by printed books. In his discussion of The Background he tells how the middle class was constituted; how proud the citizen was of his city, his country, and his position in the commonwealth; how he valued learning—mainly as a means of getting on; and what was his favorite reading. In The Whole Duty of the Citizen, he describes the extraordinary appetite for didactic literature, supporting by abundant evidence the thesis of writers like Weber and Tawney as to the relation between Puritanism and the rise of capitalism. The last part, on The Citizen's Literate Recreations, is concerned with the lighter reading of the populace—most of it of slight literary value, the controversy over women, popular works on travel and science, and finally the drama.

It is evident that such a distribution of evidence, with the omissions noted, does somewhat less than justice to the quality of life lived by the class from which the first settlers of our own country came, and leaves some worthy curiosities unsatisfied. Had these other elements in their culture been included, and the excessively full treatment of the utilitarian interests been cut down to make room for them, the book would have been both fairer and more interesting. As it is, it is a valuable source book, furnished with a good bibliography and index, for which students of the period will be grateful.

W. A. Neilson

Shorter Notices

Socializing Our Democracy. By Harry W. Laidler. Harper and Brothers. $3.

The case for socialism has never been more sanely and logically stated in terms of the modern world than in this most recent of Dr. Laidler's books. Apart from its analysis of the weaknesses of capitalism, which could be paralleled in the writings of many other present-day economists, the book is especially valuable for the clear distinctions made between socialism and the reformist measures of the New Deal and for its specific outlines of the new society which Socialists would create in this country. Although on the whole the volume is remarkably objective and admirably documented, it betrays a certain partisanship in dealing with the role of European social democracy in recent years. Being convinced that there is at least a good chance that the transition to socialism can be made peacefully in the United States, Dr. Laidler appears to be only mildly concerned over the menace of fascism and builds his case on the assumption of a continuation of our democratic institutions. Obviously the long-range value of his book will depend on the validity of that assumption.

Samuel McIntire and the Sandersons. By Mabel M. Swan. The Essex Institute. $1.50.

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as being joined in a cooperative enterprise, but the modern manufacturer had appeared. The Sandersons parceled out the work of carving, reeding, making legs of chairs and tables, and bureau fronts, and they were, moreover, wholesalers on a fairly large scale, buying up the finished work of other makers. Even in his heyday as a carpenter-architect Samuel McIntire found time to carve separate friezes of roses on banisters or chair-backs for the Sandersons. It must be recorded that these adventures in the methods of modern business came to an unhappy end. They had floated too large a scheme and found themselves in a thicket of lawsuits. They failed, as a contemporary said, "thrusting themselves from mechanic employments into the mercantile affairs and venturing largely upon credit." They were not Salem men. They had come there to make money.

Films

A Penny-colored World

ALTHOUGH "Becky Sharp" (Radio City Music Hall) is not the first full-length picture to be produced entirely in color, it is pretty certain to mark the beginning of a new stage in the evolution of the motion-picture medium. Like the version of Somerset Maugham's "The Letter" in which the late Jeanne Eagels demonstrated for the first time that the feminine voice could be recorded on the screen without inflicting temporary injury to the ear drum, it does not so much usher in a technical innovation as bring that innovation to a point of development where it must be accepted as a permanent modification of the medium as we have known it. In the first place, the particular color process which Robert Edmond Jones uses is much the most successful that has so far been employed in the attempt to supply to the film one more of the qualities which still separate it from life. While it is not completely successful in achieving that end, as must be pointed out in a moment, it at least does not prevent the spectator from responding to other appeals in the picture. As Miss Eagels in "The Letter" and Ronald Colman in "Bulldog Drummond" helped the advance of the talking picture enormously by the excellence of their playing in those two early ventures in the field, Miriam Hopkins will undoubtedly habituate the American public to color through the distraction of her superb impersonation of Thackeray's least admirable heroine. The greatest compliment that can be paid Miss Hopkins is to say that in all those scenes in which she appears we are made to forget that we are assisting at what may prove to be an event of great significance in the history of the cinema. She is able to make us ignore the sometimes too gaudy raiments, the sometimes too vivid flesh tints, with which technicolor enhances her person. In a word, the clearest triumph in "Becky Sharp" is that of Miss Hopkins; the film would probably be as popular with the general public if produced in the now old-fashioned black and white. And it should be mentioned that this triumph is effected in spite of a synoptic and badly proportioned narrative, which scants the really dramatic sections of the Thackeray original, the affair with Lord Steyne, while dragging out Becky's later career at Bath to an intolerable length.

Mr. Jones's color process will nevertheless be the subject of most earnest debate on the part of those interested in the future development of the films. Discussion will no doubt narrow itself down to the question whether color does add perceptibly to the total effectiveness of the film as a form of entertainment or art. As far as this reviewer is concerned, the answer must be that until color is used with a somewhat better sense of its functional value than is shown in this picture it is more likely to be a handicap than an aid to any further refinement of the medium. At present it is all too plainly being exploited for its own sake: it is not sufficiently fused with the formal design to have any value as a means of intensifying the total dramatic pattern of the scene or shot. Some of the more notable effects of this divorce between line and color are an overcrowded canvas, an elimination of the visual center, and a disintegration of the movement or rhythm. Color tends to "fill up" the screen frame; it adds quantitatively to what the eye must absorb at any given moment. The danger of trying to make the eye take in too many colors, as in the Waterloo sequence, is that it ends by taking in none at all. Closely related is the objection that the colors are not harmonized around a single formal center (which should in turn be related to the dramatic essence of the scene), with the result that the attention is provided with no principle of selection. The worst consequences of this are evident in those scenes in which a too garish background obscures and sometimes even blots out the countenances of the players. But what will undoubtedly be the most serious difficulty to overcome is that of managing a continuous and harmonious pictorial rhythm. The problem of montage in the color film is one of carrying over from shot to shot not only a meaningful correspondence of design but an equally appropriate correspondence of color. It is hardly possible, for example, that the violent "contrast-montage" so effectively used by the Russians and others in the black and white film can be successfully translated into color terms without considerable subtlety and restraint. In brief, the task of the screen director, arduous enough in the past, is tremendously increased by this newest expansion of the medium. What is now required of him is nothing less than a sense of the complex interrelationships of line and color comparable to that of a master painter. Because such a possession is rare in itself, and the chance of its coexisting along with the numerous other qualifications of the good director even rarer, we can hardly expect that the integration of color will be accomplished all at once. The real importance of "Becky Sharp" is that it reveals through its defects the extent and nature of the problems that must be solved before color can become as integral an element of the medium as sound has become in the best pictures of the last few years.

WILLIAM TROY

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